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TRANSACTIONS

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Royal Society of Literature

OF

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TRANSACTIONS

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Royal Society of Literature.

SECOND SERIES.

VOL. XII.—PART I.

TRANSACTIONS

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Royal Society of Literature.

THE OGHAM-RUNES AND EL-MUSHAJJAR: A STUDY.

BY RICHARD F. BURTON, M.R.A.S.

(Read January 22, 1879.)

PART I.

The Ogham-Runes.

IN treating this first portion of my subject, the Ogham-Runes, I have made free use of the materials collected by Dr. Charles Graves, Prof. John Rhys, and other students, ending it with my own work in the Orkney Islands.

The Ogham character, the "fair writing" of ancient Irish literature, is called the *Bobel-loth*, *Bethluis* or *Bethluisnion*, from its initial letters, like the Græco-Phœnician "Alphabeta," and the Arabo-Hebrew "Abjad." It may briefly be described as formed by straight or curved strokes, of various lengths, disposed either perpendicularly or obliquely to an angle of the substance upon which the letters were incised, punched, or rubbed. In monuments supposed to be more modern, the letters were traced,

not on the edge, but upon the face of the recipient surface; the latter was originally wood, staves and tablets; then stone, rude or worked; and, lastly, metal, silver, and rarely iron. The place of the bevel was often taken by a real or an imaginary perpendicular, or horizontal, bisecting the shortest notches representing vowel-cuts; or, more generally, by a Fleasgh, stem-line, trunk-line, or Rune-Staff. According to the Rev. Charles Graves,[1] "The continuous stem-line along which the Ogham letters are ranged is termed the *ridge* (ᚋᚢᚌᚢᚌ); each short stroke, perpendicular or oblique to it, is called a *twig* (ᚠᚢᚌᚢᚌ; in the plural ᚠᚢᚌᚢᚌᚐ)." That authority also opines that the stem-line, as a rule or guide, like the Devanágari-Hindú, was borrowed from the Runic "Staf."

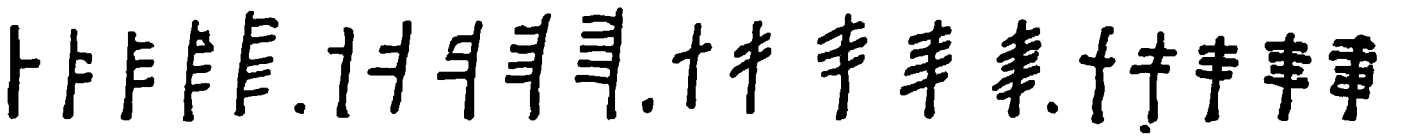
The "Tract on Oghams" and Irish grammatical treatises[2] contain some eighty different modifications of the Ogham alphabet, while Wormius enumerates twelve varieties of the Runes proper—most of them mere freaks of fancy, like similar prelusions in the East.[3] The following is the first on the list, and it is certainly that which derives most directly from the old Orient home.

[1] "Paper on the Ogham Character." Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. iv, part 2, p. 360.

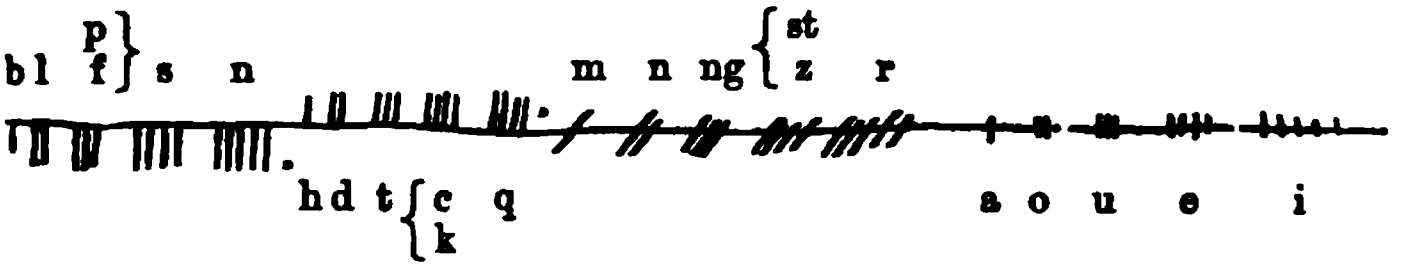
[2] The "Tract" is in the "Book of Ballymote," written about the ninth century, and assuming its present form in the fourteenth. The treatise is the "Precepta Doctorum" (Uᚢᚨᚢᚨᚌᚠᚢ or Uᚢᚢᚨᚢᚨᚠᚢᚢ neᚢᚢᚨᚢᚨ or n'eᚢᚢᚨᚢ), the Primer (Precepts) of the Bards, composed in the ninth or tenth century, and found in the "Book of Lecan," a manuscript dating from A.D. 1417. It is "said to have been composed in the first century." (p. xxviii., John O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, Dublin, 1845.)

[3] See "Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters explained," &c., by Joseph Hammer. London, 1806.

b l ꝼ ꝼ n h ꝺ ꝛ c q m ʒ nʒ ꝼꝛ ꝼ a o u e i



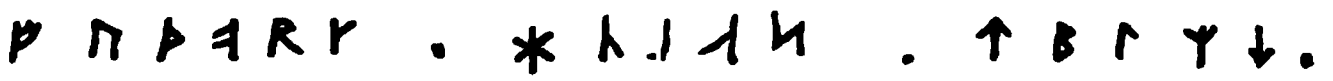
The number and the power of the letters are given, as above, by the author of the "Paper on Oghams."[4] I am aware that this form in which the directing-line has been cut up to make steps is held by some scholars to be a "sort of artificial ladder-Ogham." Yet it is an undoubted revival of the most archaic type; and from it the transition is easy to the modification popularly known, the sixteenth figured in the "Tract on Oghams."



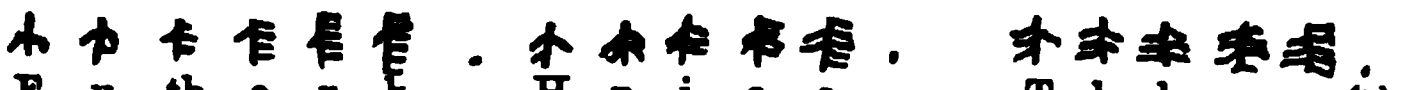
Here evidently the only thing needful was to make the stem strokes of the primitive alphabet a continuous "Fleasgh."

Let us now compare the Ogham proper with what may be called "the Ogham-Runes"; the latter being opposed to *Runogham*[5] or Secret Ogham in such phrases as *Runogham na Fian*—of the Fenians or ancient Irish militiamen. The "Ogham-Runes" represent the three groups of letters (ätter) generally known as the Futhorc, from the initial six.

Runes.



Corresponding Ogham-Runes.



F u th o r k . H n i a s . T b l m y (ö)

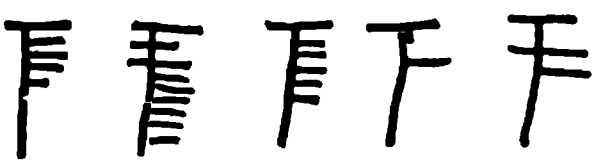
[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 358.

[5] O'Brien and O'Reilly (Dictionaries), translated *Run* by "Secret"; Welsh, *Rhin*

(The letters may evidently be inverted with the twigs pointing upwards.)

The above specimen of the Ogham-Runes is quoted from Joh. G. Liljegren.[6] In "Hermothena"[7] we find the opinion that this "twig-Rune," corresponding with the "Ogham Craobh" (or virgular Ogham),[8] composed of an upright stem and side branches, suggested the "stepped," "ladder" or primitive Ogham; and hence the perfect popular Ogham. This theory has by no means been generally accepted. Yet it well exemplifies the principle upon which the various Abecedaria were constructed—namely, that the symbol for any letter showed in the first instance its particular group amongst the three; and, secondly, the place which it held in that group. Goransson (Bautil, p. 232) figures an ancient monument on which are a few words written in these "Ogham-Runes" with the twigs (Kännestrecken), the remainder being in the common Runes.

Among the "class-Runes" supposed to have been developed from the "Futhorc" there is a vast variety of forms. We need only quote the variety called Hahal-Runes, whose resemblance is most striking to the "Ogham Craobh."



c o r v i

It is popularly asserted that the inventors, or rather the adapters of the Ogham, gave to its letters the names of trees or plants. So the Chinese

[6] "Runlära," p. 50.

[7] Vol. v., p. 232.

[8] See John O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, Introduction, pp. 34–47—"Craobh Ogham, *i.e.*, *Virgei Characteres*."

"Radical," or key for *Moh*, a tree, is a plain cross † with two additional oblique strokes 木. General Vallancey ("Prospectus of a Dictionary," &c.), who makes this remark, seems to have held that the tree-form was adapted to the name, whereas the virgular shape named the letters. The Arabic El-Mushajjar or El-Shajari, the "branched" or the "tree-like," certainly arose from the appearance of the letters.

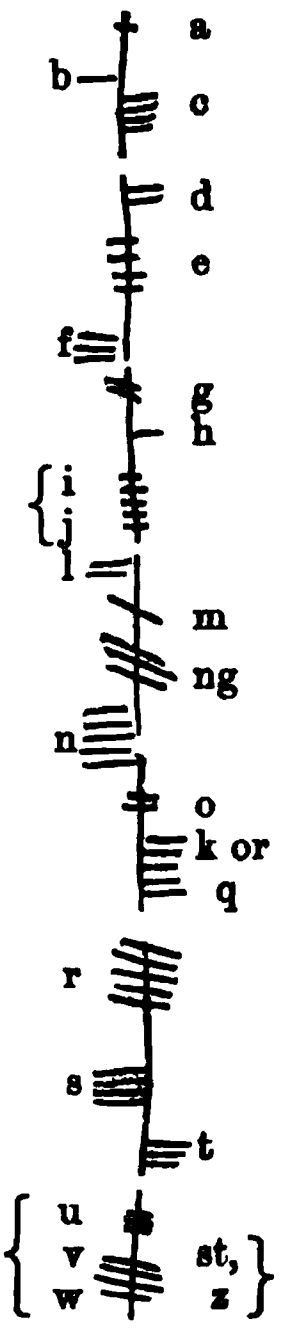
In the original Runic Alphabet two letters are called after trees, the thorn and the birch; the latter I have shown[9] is like poplar (*Pippal*), the only term which spread through Europe deriving directly from the old Aryan home (*Bhurja*). To the thorn and the birch the more developed Anglo-Saxon alphabet added four: yew, sedge, oak, and ash. All the Irish letters are made to signify trees or plants; but at least ten of them are not Irish terms. Amongst foreign words, curious to say, is the second letter of the *Bethluis*, *L* = *luis* = a quicken, or mountain ash; whilst the same is the case with the third letter *n* (*nin*, or *nion*, an ash) in *Bethluisnin* (*Beth-luis-nion ?*). The latter term has suggested to some that in old Ogham the letter *n* stood third. But there is nothing in the Uraicept to support this theory. On the contrary, there are passages to show that the word *nin* was "occasionally taken in a general signification, and was used with reference to all the letters of the alphabet indifferently."

All the letters of the Bethluis are called *Feada*,

[9] See "Ultima Thule" (Nimmo and Co.) and "Etruscan Bologna."

"woods" or "trees" (Feaba), a term especially applied to the vowels as being the true "trees." The consonants are *Taobomma* or "side-trees" (taobomma); and the diphthongs *Forfeada*, "over-trees" or "extra trees." The division of the alphabet is into four *aicme* ("groups") of five letters, each named after its initial. Thus, *b*, *l*, *f*, *s*, *n* compose the B-group (aicme-b); *h*, *d*, *t*, *c*, *q* the H-group (aicme-h), and so forth. The five diphthongs (*Forfeada* or "extra trees") *ea*, *oi*, *ui*, *ai* and *ae* become the Foraicme-group (Foṛaicme). The words were read from the bottom upwards, often rounding the head of the stone and running down the opposite shoulder. If horizontally disposed, the order was from left to right, like Sanskrit and other Aryans; when written backwards in Semitic fashion, from right to left, secresy was intended.

The groups, both in Runic and in Ogham are: 1. Lines to the left of the Fleasgh when perpendicular, or below it when horizontal; these are *b*, *l*, *f*, *s*, *n*, according as they number 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 characteristic "twigs." 2. Lines to the right or above the line; *h*, *d*, *t*, *c*, *q*, (*cu*?). 3. Longer strokes crossing the bevel on the Fleasgh obliquely, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *st* (*z*), *r*. 4. Shorter cuts upon the stem-line usually represent the five vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*, *i*. Sometimes



they are mere notches; in other cases they are of considerable length; for instance, in the St. Gall Codex of Priscian, whose eight marginal notes in Ogham are attributed to A.D. 874, 875.

Thus the total characters originally numbered in Runic 16 and in the Ogham 20, or 25, simple and compound. These two illustrations, in which they are compared with the Roman alphabet, show their deficiencies. Of the five diphthongs, only the first (*ea*) has been found upon the ancient monuments. The next added to it was the second (*oi*); and lastly came the other three (*ui*, *ia* and *ea*) which were employed occasionally. The absent consonants are *j*, *k* (= *c*, *q*), *p*, *v*, *w*, *x*, *z*. The disappearance of the *p*, which Bishop Graves[10] holds to be a "primitive letter in the Phœnician alphabet," and which was so much used in Latin, is significant, or rather should be so, to those who hold the Ogham to have been modelled upon the Roman syllabarium. Unknown to the Irish tongue as is the *b* to Romaic or modern Greek, it is expressed by *bh*, and the Uraicept assigns as a reason that *p* is an aspirated *b*,—which it is not. There are rare and presumedly modern characters for the semi-vowel *y*, and for the double consonant *x* (= *ks*, *cs*), which was also denoted by cc, ch, ᚲch, and uch. The naso-palatal *ng* of Sanskrit—a character lost to the abecedaria of Europe—is preserved in Ogham. The *z* is denoted by ᚌᚑ or ᚌᚐ. Thus Elizabeth and Zacharias become Elistabeth and Stacharias (*Liber Hymnorum*), and in the Uraicept Greek ζ is written ᚌᚑᚑᚈᚐ (Steta).[11] Finally,

[10] Hermothena, iv., 469.

[11] O'Donovan (p. 48) makes *z* = *ts* or *ds*.

several of the signs are supposed to denote different sounds.

I have no intention of entering into the vexed question of Ogham antiquity, or of its pre-Christian versus its post-Christian date. Dr. Graves[12] determines the question as follows: "One of the first things to be remarked in this alphabet is the separation of the letters into consonants and vowels. This arrangement alone ought to have satisfied any scholar that it is the work of a grammarian, and not a genuine primitive alphabet. Again, the vowels are arranged according to the method of the Irish grammarians, who have divided them into two classes, broad and slender. The broad *a*, *o* (identical in the oldest writings), and *u* are put first; the slender *e* and *i* last." Thus as regards the origin of the Ogham alphabet, the author came to the conclusion that it was introduced into Ireland from Scandinavia or North Germany; and that it was framed by persons acquainted with the later and developed Runic alphabets, such as those used by the Anglo-Saxons. Dr. O'Connor also doubted the antiquity of the Ogham alphabet. He held that the Irish possessed a primitive abecedarium of 16 letters (like the Runic), all named after trees; and, consequently, that the tree-shaped letters (*formæ rectilineares*) may be a modern invention.

O'Donovan (1845) makes the *Bobel-loth* alphabet contain 24, and the *Beth-luis-nion* 26 letters. The Reverend Thomas Jones, M.A., reduces the genuine Irish alphabet to 18.

[12] *Loc. cit.*, 360.

But these are objections to the alphabet,[13] *not to the characters composing it.* With respect to the artificial distribution of the vowels, Dr. Graves owns in the next sentence that "it was not by any means strictly observed by the earliest writers of this country;" adding that frequent violations of it are to be found in the "Book of Armagh" and in the monuments of olden time. His argument, founded upon the present systematisation, is absolutely worthless. Ogham cannot be an original and primitive alphabet in its actual and finished state; it may have been so in its rude form. A case in point is the modern "Devanágari," still used for Prakrit as well as for Sanskrit. That beautiful and philological system is the work of grammarians who knew as much as, and perhaps more than, "Priscian and Donatus." Nothing can be, at any rate nothing is, more artful, more scientific, than its distribution of the sound-symbols. Yet the original and simple abecedarium was old enough, having been simply borrowed from the Phœnicians. We know that the Hindús wrote letters in the days of Alexander, and the Girnár inscriptions prove that the ancient form of the complicated modern alphabet was used in India during the third century B.C. The same may have been the case with the primitive Ogham of 16 or 20 letters. All we can now say is, that either the inscriptions have perished or they are yet to be found; and no wonder when they were cut on wooden staves, wands, and tablets:

"Barbara fraxineis sculpatur Rhuna tabellis."

(*Ammian. Marcell.*)

[13] "Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland." London, 1729. Chiefly a reply to O'Flaherty's "Ogygia Vindicated."

Bishop Graves himself quotes many remnants of tradition touching the use of Ogham among the heathen Irish—not to speak of the Catholic legend of Fenius Fearsaidh, "great grand-son of Japhet." A story in the "Leabhar na h Uidhri," mentions the Ogham, inscribed on the end of the *Lia* or headstone planted over the grave of King Fothadh Airgthech (the Robber), who ruled Ireland in A.D. 285. The "Book of Ballymote" refers to the Ogham of Fiachrach (ob. A.D. 380). A similar allusion is found in the "Elopement of Deirdré,"[14]—their Ogham names were written.

Again, the Druid Dallan, sent by Eochaidh Airem, King of Ireland, to recover Queen Etaine, "made four wands of yew and wrote in Ogham on them." This event is attributed (Tocmarc Etaine) to B.C. 100. Lastly we are told that in heathen times the Irish "marked everything which was hateful to them in Ogham on the Fé;" the latter being a wand made of the aspen, a "fey" tree, and used for measuring the corpse and its grave. The cave of the New Grange tumulus, ascribed to the Tuath De Danaans, and opened in A.D. 1699, exhibits a few Ogham characters (numerals?) and near them a decided representation of a palm branch.[15] There is another, attributed to pagan ages, on a pillar-stone near Dunloe Castle, county Kerry. We may then hold, with Professor Rhys, that the "origin of Ogham writing is still hidden in darkness."

A note by Bishop Graves on "Scythian letters,"[16]

[14] "Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin," 1808, pp. 127–9.

[15] O'Donovan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 28 and 44. See both figured in Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 207.

[16] "Hermothena," vol. v., p. 252, terminal note.

shows that the "Alans predicted futurity by inscribing straight line-sticks with secret enchantments." (Ammian. Marcell. xxxi, § 2, 24.) The *Sortes Prænestinæ* of Cicero (De Div. ii, 40) were "inscribed on oak with marks of ancient letters." Cæsar (Bell. Gall. ii, c. 53,) speaks of similar *Sortes* among the Germans; and Tacitus (Germ. c. x.) notes that "twigs or staves were marked with certain signs." We have found no characters more ancient than Oghams and Ogham-Runes in Northern Europe, and the conclusion is obvious.

I do not propose any attempt at determining whether the Ogham was or was not "a steganography, a cypher, a series of symbols;" in fact, a secret form of the Roman alphabet "used only by the initiated among the pre-Christian and the Christian Gaoidheilg."[17] Dr. Graves has laboured hard to place the abecedarium, not the characters,[18] in the rank of a comparatively modern cryptogram, known to knights and *literati*, and used chiefly for monumental and magical purposes. He has proved conclusively that the average of Ogham inscriptions are as simple as the Etruscan, often consisting of a single proper name, generally a genitive governed by "Lia" (*lapis sepulchralis*), expressed or understood. In Ireland it is accompanied by a patronymic; in Etruria by a matronymic; the letters occur mixed with Runes, and even with Latin, as Miss Margaret Stokes has shown in her admirable volume of "Inscriptions."[19]

[17] "Hermothena," vol. iv., p. 400, and vol. v., pp. 208–252.

[18] The attention of the reader is called to the distinction between the alphabetic order and the characters which compose the alphabet.

[19] Part IV., Plates ii. and iii. of "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," chiefly collected and drawn by George Petrie, LL.D., and

The Bishop of Limerick's elaborate and extensive arguments concerning the modern origin and the secret nature of Ogham appear to have been generally adopted. Mr. Gilbert Gordie[20] expresses the popular opinion, "Oghams are, as we know, an occult form of monumental writing practised by the Celtic ecclesiastics of the early middle ages." The Maes Howe inscription appears to be a cryptogram, and the same is the case with its equivalent, the Arabic Mushajjar, or "Tree-Alphabet."

Professor Rhys[21] is the objector in chief to the Bishop of Limerick's theories and opinions. He holds that the "stepped" or "ladder" Ogham is purely artificial, and found chiefly in the "Essay on Ogham." He believes that the cryptic runes, from which the "fair writing" has been derived, are not proved old enough in any shape to originate the Ogham. He does not see any cause for accepting the assertion that "the Ogham alphabet was intended for cryptic purposes;[22] owning the while, "it is possible, however, that it may have, in the hands of pedants, been so applied, just as it was growing obsolete. He quotes (p. 302) from a well known member of the Royal Irish Academy, "Ogham inscriptions are of the simplest."

edited by Miss Stokes. Also Cav. Nigra, *Reliquie Celtiche*, Turin, 1872. The oldest Roman alphabet found in Ireland is of the fifth century (O'Donovan, xxxvii).

[20] Vol. xii., part 1. Edinburgh, 1877. Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.

[21] "On Irish Ogham Inscriptions." A letter addressed (at special request) by John Rhys, M.A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, to William Stokes, M.D., F.R.S., &c., President of the Royal Irish Academy, dated Rhyl, Oct. 28, 1874. Read Jan. 11, 1875.

[22] *Loc. cit.*, p. 301.

Professor Rhys,[23] treating of the Welsh inscriptions which date from the second century, shows how the Ogmic alphabet, claimed for their own country by certain Irish antiquaries, passed from Wales to Ireland; and that the art, if ever invented by the Kelts, must have been due to the ancestors of the Welsh. He believes, moreover, that the Ogham, supposed to typify the rays of light and similar poetic fancies, the rude system used before the introduction of Runes, was borrowed by the Kimri from their Teutonic neighbours. He hazards a conjecture that though the origin is still hidden in darkness, it was based upon the Phœnician—a conclusion apparently formed before reading my letter to the *Athenæum*.[24] In his address to that great scholar, the late William Stokes, he would assign the chief part of the earlier class of Irish Oghams to the sixth century, or, rather, to the interval between the fifth and the seventh. He suspects that one instance, at least, dates before the departure of the Romans from Britain—especially alluding to the Loghor altar examined by Dr. S. Ferguson. He ends with saying, " It is noteworthy that British Ogham-writing is to be traced back to a time when we may reasonably suppose Kimric nationality to have revived, and a reaction against Roman habits and customs to have, to a certain extent, taken place, when the last Roman soldier had taken

[23] "Lectures on Welsh Philology." London: Trübner, 1877. I know the book only from Mr. O. H. Sayce's review (*The Academy*, May 12, 1877). It is out of print; and we can only hope that the learned author will listen to the voice of the publishers, who are clamouring for a second edition.

[24] April 7, 1877.

his departure from our island. But since the Roman alphabet had been introduced into Britain, it is highly improbable that another and a clumsier one should have been invented and got into use. The inevitable inference then seems to be, that Ogmic-writing dates from a time anterior to the introduction of the Roman alphabet."

Upon this part of the subject, Dr. now Sir Samuel Ferguson, poet and scholar, informed me that in one of the county histories of Cumberland, whose author's name he had forgotten, a Palm-rune attracted his attention. He spent a long day at the Shap Quarry, near Dalston, worked to supply the *Prætentura*, or Southern Roman Wall of Hadrian or Surrus, connecting the Tyne with the Solway Firth. This interesting relic of an alphabet, which may have dated from the days of the Latin Legionaries, had unfortunately disappeared. The "Cave-pit," at Cissbury, near Worthing, shows at least one character,[25] and two imperfect cuts contain two Phœnician and Etruscan *as* (Plate XXV, Figs. 1 and 2). See also "Inscribed Bone Implements," by J. Park Harrison, M.A.: he divides the marks upon chalk into two orders: Symbols and Simple signs. Many of the latter are Branch-Runes—*e.g.*, ᚴ ᛦ ᛏ ᚴᛉ and ᚠ

The most important evidence adduced by Prof. Rhys in favour of his Teutonic-Kimric theory is, that the third alphabetic letter the Jim (soft *g* as *G*eor*g*e) of the Arabs and Phœnicians; and the Gimel (or hard *g* as *G*orge) of the Hebrews and Greeks who pronounce their Gamma as *Gh*amma, becomes a *ch* (*Ch*ur*ch*). This fact, he says, can be explained only

[25] *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, May, 1877, page 441.

on the supposition that the syllabary reached the Kelts through the Teutons.

According to the Uraicept, the "Bethluisnion" was invented by the Scythian King, Fenius Fearsaidh, who, about one generation before the Hebrew Exodus[26] came from his northern home and established a philological school of seventy-two students in the Plains of Shinar.[27] In the "Book of Lecan" is found a tradition supposed to be interpolated, that, "Ogma, the sun-faced," brother of Breas, King of Ireland, both sons of Eladan or Elathan (*Sapientia*), in the days of the Teutonic (?) Tuath De Danaan, about nineteen centuries B.C., "invented the letters of the Scots, and the names belonging to them." Prof. Rhys opines that this mythical Irish hero was to be identified in ancient Gaul under the name "Ogmius," with the Roman Hercules, in the Welsh "Ofydd," a savant, the *Ovate* of the Eisteddfod. Kimric legend also traced the origin of letters to Ogyrven, father of the Dawn-goddess "Gwenhwyfar" (Guinevere), the fabled wife of Arthur. Our author also opines that "Ogyrven" is, letter for letter, the Zend Angro-Maniyus or Ahriman, the bad-god of night and darkness and cold. Here, then, we are in full Persia and amongst her sons, the Manichæans, of all sects perhaps the most vital and persistent. But granting the Teutonic origin of Ogham, the question arises, says my erudite friend, Prof. Sprenger, "When and how did the Teutons borrow it from the Phœnicians?"

[26] "Hermothena," vol. iv., pp. 452–53. The legend is universal in the ancient literature of Ireland.

[27] The date is given with considerable variations.

This much has been quoted from others. The first part of this paper may fitly end with my own work in the Orkney Islands; it was the application of an Arabic alphabet to an Icelandic *graffito* in Palm-runes, Tree-runes, or Twig-runes, which the Bishop of Limerick would make the primitive form of Ogham. It is not a little curious that the mob of gentlemen who criticize with ease, has not, in a single case at least which came under my notice, remarked the curious discovery of a Scandinavian inscription in an Arabic character.

A ride to Hums, the classical Emesa, on February 27, 1871, and a visit to my old friend the Matrán or Metropolitan of the Nestorians, Butrus (Peter) introduced me to the alphabet known as El-Mushajjar, the tree or branched letters, one of the many cyphers invented by the restless Oriental brain. Shortly afterwards (June, 1872), I found myself inspecting Maes Howe, the unique barrow near Kirkwall (Orkneys), under the guidance of the late Mr. George Petrie, a local antiquary, whose energetic labours and whose courtesy to inquirers will long keep his name green.[28] The first sight of the Branch or Palm-Runes amongst the common Runes of Maes Howe reminded me of the alphabet which I had copied in northern Syria.

Mr. James Farrer, M.P. ("Notice of Runic Inscriptions discovered during Recent Excavations in the Orkneys," printed for private circulation, 1862), first "established the important fact of Runic inscriptions existing in Orkney, where none had hitherto been found." He gives (Plates VIII

[28] See "Ultima Thule," vol. i., pp. 285–87.

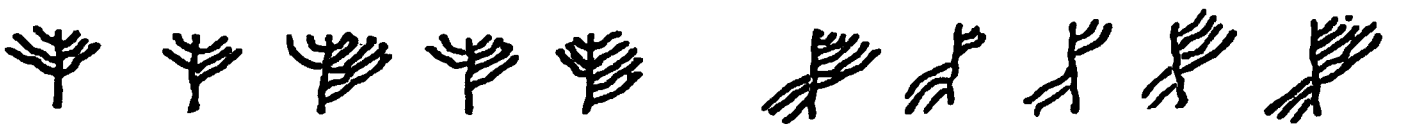
and IX) both sets of Palm-Runes, which run as follows :—

No. I.

a (æ) r y i k r

Here the first "tree" has a cross-bar which Mr. Petrie acutely determined to represent the key of the cypher. This would be the first letter *á*, or, as in common Runic, the cognate diphthong (A E). He was thus able to read "Aeryikr" (Eric). Prof. Stephens, in his well-known work on the Tree or Twig-Runes, had interpreted the word AErling. But there is no *l* (ᛚ), and the error may have arisen from the second letter having the lowest branch on the right *r*, cut short at the base ( ).

No. II.



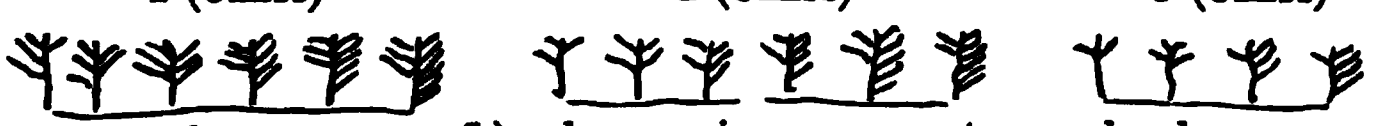
Th i s a r R ú n a r

The above, in which the left hand branches are bent downwards instead of upwards, proved equally amenable to its Œdipus. Prof. Stephens had also made it to mean "these Runes."

Thus Mr. Petrie had simply applied my Arabic "Mushajjar" to the Icelandic "Futhorc," or Scandinavian alphabet, so called, like the Abjad, the Bethluis and our own, from the letters which begin it.

No. III.

1 (Class) 2 (Class) 3 (Class)



f u th or r c (k) h n i a s t b l m y.

Mr. Petrie announced his discovery as follows:—"I attempted, by means of your 'tree-branched' alphabet to read the palm-runes of Maes Howe, but failed. It then occurred to me that they might correspond with the Futhorc, and, obtaining the key of the cypher, I completely succeeded after a few hours trial. On referring to Mr. Farrer's copies of the translation given by the Scandinavian professors, I find that Professor Stephens appears to have put five runes into the first two classes (?), which makes the third palm-rune (No. 1) to be *l*, instead of *y*; moreover, he does not give the key. My first attempt at classifying the Runes by means of the cypher, turned out correct; and I have therefore retained that classification in reading the second inscription. It is evident that the classification could be altered at will of the person using it, and this uncertainty of arrangement must constitute the difficulty of interpreting such runes."

Mr. Farrer (Plates VIII and IX) gives both sets of Palm-runes, and borrows (p. 29, referring to Plate VIII) the following information from Professor Stephens:—"The six crypt-runes or secret staves represent the letters A, Æ, R, L, I, K, R, and signify Aalikr or Erling, a proper name, or perhaps the beginning of some sentence." Prof. Munch observes: "The other characters in the third line are known as 'Limouna,'[29] or Bough-Runes. They were used during the later times of the Runic period, in the same manner as the Irish Ogham, but are not here intelligible. The writer probably intended to represent the chief vowels, A, E, I, O, U, Y. The

[29] Generally "Lim-rúnar."

Runic alphabet was divided into two classes; the strokes on the left of the vertical line indicating the class, and those on the right the rune itself." And Professor Kunz declares, "The palm-runes underneath cannot be read in the usual manner; the first, third, and fourth of the runes being *a*, *o*, and *i*; the writer probably intended to give all the vowels, and some of the letters have been obviously miscarried, and have perhaps been altered or defaced at a later period by other persons. In the first of these, a cross-line has been added to show that the letter *a* is intended." Of No. XVIII (Plate X) Mr. Farrer notes: "The palm-runes are rarely capable of being deciphered. Prof. Munch similarly declares: "The bough-runes are not easy to decipher," whilst Cleasby (*sub voce*) explains them as "a kind of magical runes." They are mentioned in the Elder Edda (Sigrdrífurmál, Stanza II):—

> "Line-runes thou must ken
> An thou a leach wouldst be
> And trowe to heal hurts."

A scholar so competent as Sir George Dasent assures me that he knows no other allusion to them in old Scandinavian literature.

The Bishop of Limerick believes that in this case "the Rune-graver has introduced his own name, evidently intending thereby to give a proof of his Runic accomplishments by the use of a cipher."[30] But Dr. Graves is possessed by the "dominant idea" of a cryptogram. In Nos. XIX and XX Plate X) we read, "Iorsafarar brutu Orkhröugh"

[30] "Hermothena," vol. iv., p. 463.

—the Jerusalem farers (pilgrims to the Holy Land) broke open Orkhow, the "shelter-mound." There are also seven crosses, and one inscription (No. XIII) must be read, Arab fashion, from right to left. We may therefore believe that certain old *Coquillards*, and possibly Crusaders, returning home with enlarged ideas, violated the tomb in search of treasure, an object especially Oriental; and put a single name and an unfinished inscription to warn followers that they had left nothing of value unplundered.

I cannot but hold this interpretation of a Scandinavian text by an Arabic character as proof positive that the Semitic "Mushajjar" and the Palm-runes of the Ogham and Runic alphabet are absolutely identical.

To conclude the subject of Ogham, with a notice of its derivation from the cuneiform of Babylon and Assyria and from the Phœnician. The former supposition has been much debated and even advocated, but not by Orientalists. Bishop Graves remarks[31] that although the arrow-headed characters include some phonetic signs, they rest mostly upon an idiographic base. His objection is not valid. The cuneiform alphabets, as everyone knows, gave rise, at an age anterior to Phœnician, to the Cypriot and pre-Cadmean syllabarium, used at Troy.[32] And finding a modified form of El-Mushajjar, in Pehlevi, one is tempted to refer it to the Persians, a restless and ingenious people who would have been more likely

[31] "Hermothena," vol. iv., pp. 471-72.

[32] See Schliemann's "Troy." Of the 18 inscriptions found in that valuable volume, 11 belong to the "Trojan stratum," and of these five are Cyprian.

than any Arabs to have converted its arrow-heads into a cryptogram. The main objections to the Phœnician theory are three: 1, the Phœnicians were of Semitic stock, a race which borrows and improves but does not originate: it is, in fact, remarkably barren of invention; 2, the Phœnicians, although they used, as we know, letters in B.C. 500,[33] were by no means a literary race. They doubtless corresponded, engrossed, and kept their invoices and their ledgers with exemplary care; but with the sole exception of the Ashmunazar or Sidonian epitaph, that touching and beautiful wail over a lost life, they have not left a single monument of remarkable poetry or prose; 3rd, and lastly, they had a far handier alphabet of 22 letters chosen from the Egyptian phonology, the latter being contained in 25 characters besides some 400 hieroglyphics: consequently they would hardly want a second. Perhaps our Ogham may be of a still nobler stock, and I here venture to suggest that it may have originated with the far-famed Nabat or Nabathæans.

Finally, we may expect, when the subject shall have acquired importance, to find traces of this alphabet in places hitherto unsuspected. It may be worth while to investigate the subject of the Runes[34] found upon stones in the Vernacular lands. Some scholars have interpreted them by the vernacular

[33] There is no known Phœnician inscription antedating B.C. 500 (M. Ernest Rénan, p. 138 of Schliemann's "Troy") except only the "Moabite Stone," if that noble monument be held Phœnician.

[34] Archiv für Sclavische Philologie. Berlin, 1877, 2 Band, 2ter Heft). Mr. Howorth also refers me to vol. i., series 6, of the "Memoirs of the Academy of St. Petersburgh."

tongues; whilst others look upon them as wholly Scandinavian. Mr. W. R. Morfill, of Oxford, a competent scholar, believes the Glagolitic alphabet, in which the supposed Slavonic Runes are stated to be traced, to be of late introduction: others hold it to be distinctly founded on Greek.

Part II.

El-Mushajjar. المشجر

In this part I propose to collect all the scattered notices concerning the little-known Mushajjar, the Arabic Tree-alphabet, adding the results of my own observations. Its birth is at present veiled in mystery. I have heard of, but never have seen, rocks and stones bearing the characters, and the manuscripts are by no means satisfactory.

In the spring of 1877, during my visit to Cairo, that literary city of the Arabs appeared to be the best place for investigating the origin of the mysterious "Mushajjar." Amongst those consulted was the Aulic Councillor, Alfred von Kremer, the ripe Arabic scholar of the *Culturgeschichte*, &c.: he vainly turned over all the pages of the *Fihrist*, (Flügel, Leipzig, 1871). Prof. Spitta, Director of the useful *Bibliotèque Khédiviale de l'Instruction publique*,

in the Darb El-Jemámíz, was not more fortunate. Dánish Bey, Professor of Turkish to H.H. Ibrahim Pasha, the young Prince now studying in England, had heard of the cryptogram: he declared that it should be called "El-Shajari" (the tree-shaped), and thought that it was an Arab, not a Persian invention. Fortunately I also consulted H.E. Yacoub Artin Bey, an Armenian and Christian[35] officer, then attached to the household of the same Prince; and the following is the result of our joint enquiries.

Moslem *literati* are, as a rule, painfully ignorant of the history of language; and, although many know the words "El-Mushajjar" and "El-Shajari," few have any definite ideas upon the subject. I have often heard reports of a manuscript which contains a complete description of the character, but none could tell us either the name of the book or of its author. A popular tradition traces the origin of the Arab Tree-runes to El-Húd,[36] the well-known Himyarite prophet, buried in Hazramaut (Hazarmaveth). Christian writers often identify him with Heber, a hypothesis which Ibn Khaldún Tabari disdainfully rejects. It is also reported that the

[35] "Tancred" declares that my friend's father, Artin Bey, was of Israelitic blood. The name, in India Aratoon, is the Turkish form of *Haroutioune*, meaning in Armenian "Resurrection." Imagine a Hebrew choosing such cognomen! The confusion arose from the similarity of the Armenian Artin and the Hebrew Artom.

[36] The Koran (Sab, chap. vii., v. 66) sends him on a mission to the Tribe of 'Ad, the Pelasgi of the Semites. He is supposed to have lived about B.C. 1750, under the 'Adite King, Khul Khuljún. The Kámús gives his lineage as Bin 'Amir, b. Shálih b. Fálagh (Peleg?): b. Arphakhshad: b. Sám (Shem): b. Núh·Sale (*loc. cit.*) and popular opinion add two generations to these six. Húd b. 'Abdillah: b. Ribáh: b. Kholúd: b. 'Ad: b. Aus (Uz): b. Aram: b. Sám: b. Nuh.

alphabet was used in the reign of El-Maamún (XXVIth Abbaside Khalífah, A.D. 813 = 833). Yacoub Artin Bey had promised to procure for me, if possible, the volume containing this important notice.[37] Again, we trace it to the days of Abú 'l-Hazan Ali (Sayf el-Daulah), the literary Prince of Aleppo and Damascus (acc. A.H. 320 = A.D. 932: ob. A.H. 356 = A.D. 966), when it was used for chronograms. Meanwhile that celebrated dictionary "El-Kámús" (of Ferozabádi A.D. 1350—1414) declares that El-Mushajjar is a form of *Khat* (writing), and straightway passes on to another subject.

All we know for certain is that El-Mushajjar appears in two forms among the 80 alphabets recorded by Ibn Wahshiyah (Ahmad bin Abibakr). This author is called by Kirscher "Aben Vaschia" and "Vahschia," and by d'Herbelot (*sub voce* Faláhat), "Vahaschiah."[38] He is mentioned in the Kashf el-Zunún (Revelation of Opinions, &c.), by Haji Khalífah (ob. A. H. 1068 = A.D. 1658), as being employed in translating from Nabathæan into Arabic. Two other authorities quoted by Hammer[39] confirm the report. It is generally believed that he flourished in our ninth century; that he finished his book about A.H. 214 (= A.D. 829),

[37] Unfortunately, the owner, who speaks highly of it, is a confirmed vagrant, in the habit of disappearing for months, and showing all the wild enthusiasm of his forefathers. He occasionally visits Cairo, in the vain attempt to make money out of a small estate. During 1877–78, the "Low Nile" so vexed him that he would neither lend the work or give its name.

[38] De Herbelot, however, calls him "Aboubekr ben Ahmed."

[39] Sect. xvi, "Ancient Alphabets," by Joseph Hammer. London: Bulmer, 1806.

or 1,040 years ago; and in that year, as he himself tells us, deposited the manuscript in the public treasury founded by Abd el-Malik bin Marwán, tenth caliph, A.D. 685—705 = A.H. 65—86.

Ibn Wahshiyah is a well known name, which has given rise to abundant discussion, and of the latter we have by no means seen the last.[40] I therefore regret to see so trenchant an opinion expressed by Dr. Charles Graves:[41] "an Arabic collection of alphabets by Ibn Wahsheh,[42] translated by Hammer, contains two tree-shaped alphabets, of which one is constructed on precisely the same principle as the Ogham. This work, which for a time imposed upon the half-learned, is now (1830) proved to be of no authority." In his later publication the Bishop of Limerick thus reforms his crude opinions—thirty-six years have done their duty. "But the work, apocryphal as it is, was written in the ninth or tenth century; and it will be a curious problem to account for the similarity of the tree-alphabets represented in it, and the 'Twig-Runes' of Scandinavia." This similarity it is my object to illustrate, in the hope of restoring the Ogham to its old home—the East. The work can be done only by three means: 1, by proving that it was known to the Moslems before the days of Ibn Wahshiyah; 2, by showing that its wide diffusion and varied forms suggest a more ancient origin; and, 3, by determining where it arose.

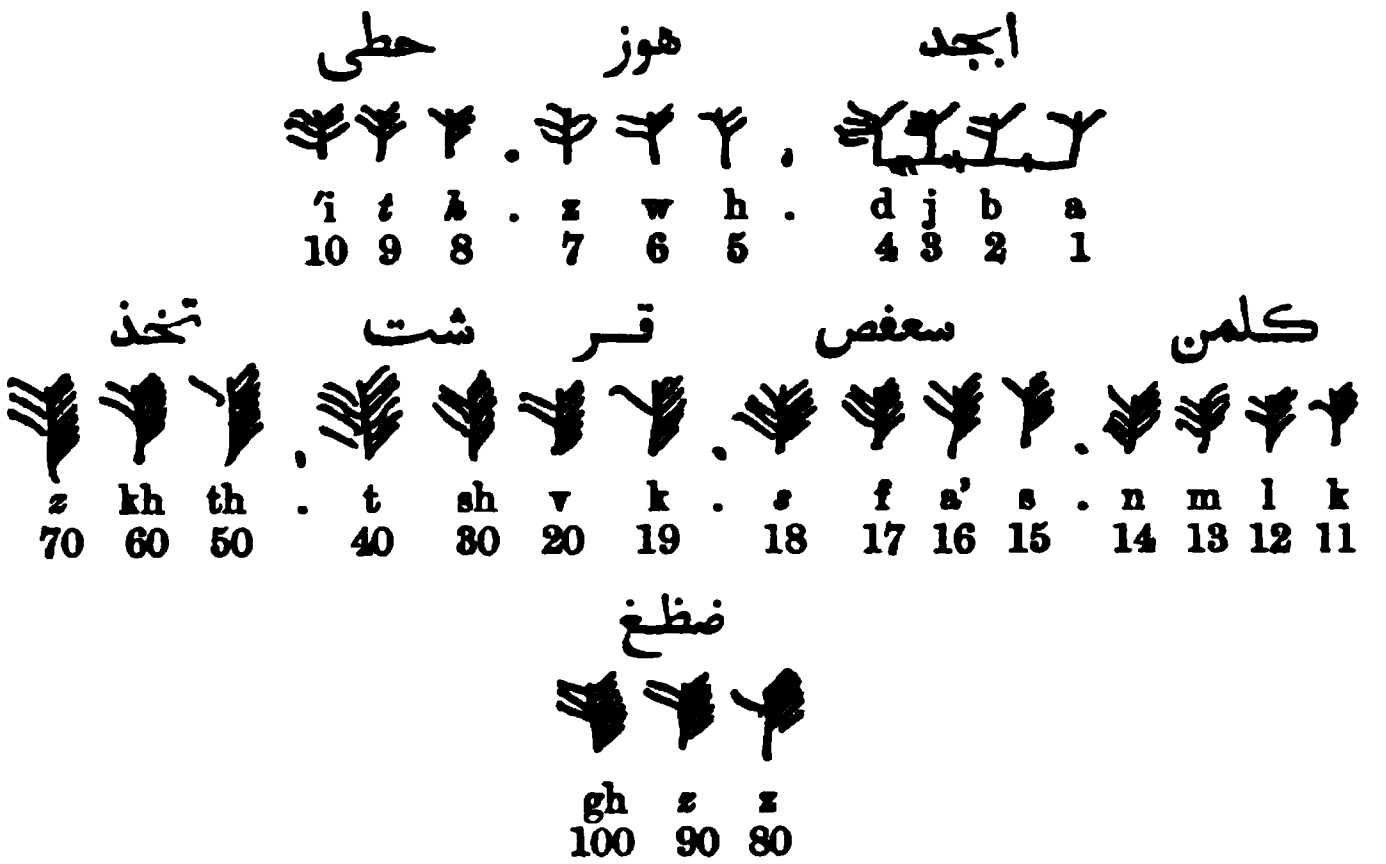
[40] I have outlined the subject in "The Gold Mines of Midian," chap. viii.

[41] Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, vol. iv., p. 362, of 1830, deliberately repeated in "Hermothena," vol. iv., p. 465, of 1866.

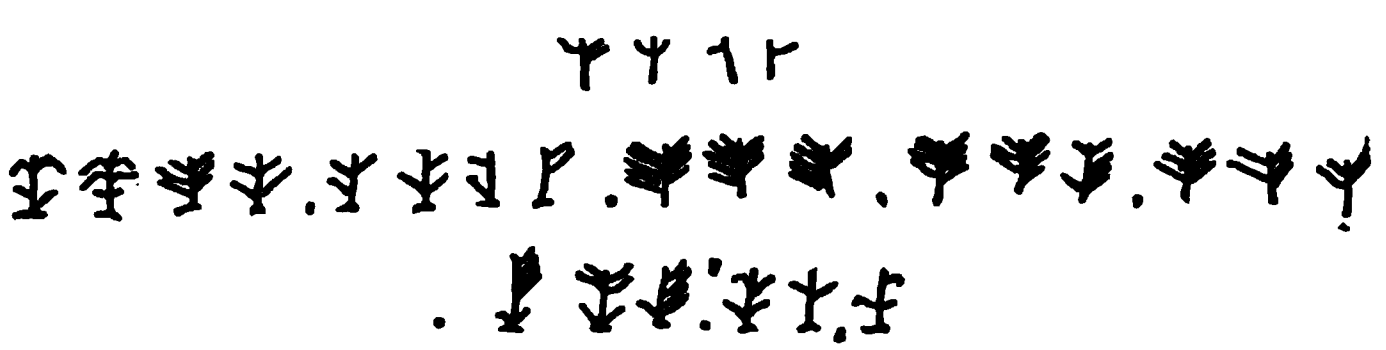
[42] This error is Hammer's (*loc. cit.*).

The following are the varieties which I have hitherto been able to procure :—

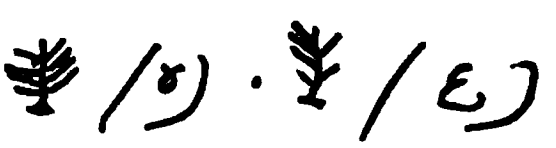
No. I. (Ibn Wahshiyah).



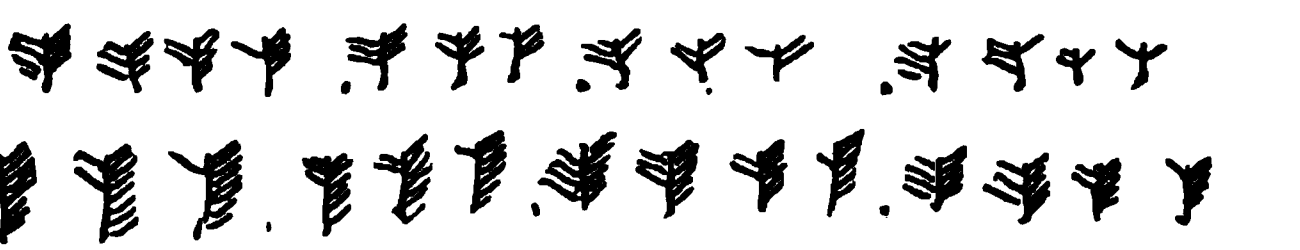
No. II. (Ditto).



with the additionals—



No. III. (A Modification of the above).

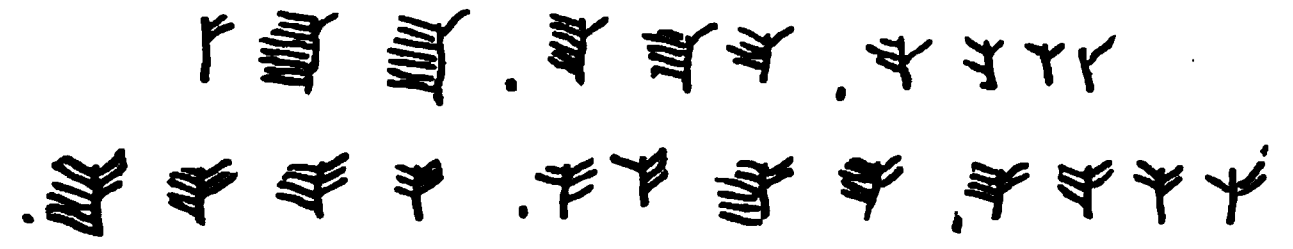


with the addition of a distinct character for . = lú)

No. IV. (*from Hums*).

No. V. (*from ditto*).

No. VI.



It is to be noticed that all these modifications are read from right to left, and are disposed in the Hebrew order; this, which differs from the common form mostly by placing the additional Arabic letters at the end, is still known as El-Abjad, after its four initial characters. The Moslems trace this disposition backwards through the Prophet Húd to Father Adam; but we hold that it was adopted about the beginning of the Christian era when the Himyaritic characters became obsolete. The terms El-Mushajjar and El-Shajari (the branched or the tree-shaped) are evidently Arabic. But, as shown by the Icelandic "Limb-runes," the syllabary may have had various vernacular names invented by every race that adopted it. This artless article is evidently capable of universal application. It may be written from left to right, as well as *vice versâ*, and it is equally fitted for expressing English and Arabic. Like the Ogham, it is slow and cumbrous; but so are all alphabets in which the letters are detached. The Fleasgh or directing-line which appears in No. IV and in the Ogham, is general to

the Hindú alphabets, whose source was the Phœnician. The latter, probably in a pre-Cadmean form, passed eastwards from Syria as a centre, *viâ* Southern or Himyaritic Arabia, to the vast Indian Peninsula, which was apparently unalphabetic before B.C. 350. Thence, altered once more, it was spread by the Buddhists through Central Asia as far as the Wall of China. Westward, the Greeks, the Etruscans and the Romans carried it over the length and breadth of Europe; and our daily A, B, C, D still represents the venerable Hebrew-Arabic Abjad and the Greek Alpha, Veta, Ghamma, Thelta.

The following are Ibn Wahshiyah's remarks upon the six forms given above :—

No. 1 is "The alphabet of Dioscorides the Doctor (Dískoridús el-Hakím), commonly called El-Mushajjar. He wrote on trees, shrubs and herbs, and of their secret, useful and noxious qualities in this alphabet, used since in their books by different philosophers."[43]

No. 2 is "The alphabet of Plato, the Greek Philosopher. It is said that each letter of this alphabet had different imports, according to the affair and the thing treated of."[44]

No. 3, which evidently modifies No. 2, was copied for me by my friend Yacoub Artin Bey. In the library of the late Mustafá Pasha (Cairo) he found an undated manuscript (ρ No. i), apparently not ancient : upon the margin of the last page, probably for want of a better place, had been copied the "Khatt Shajari." It is the full Arabic, as compared with the incomplete

[43] Ibn Wahshiyah, in Hammer ; Sect. xvi., pp. 8 and 38.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–46.

Hebrew alphabet; with a terminal addition of "Lá." The latter both in the Abjad and in the popular system is written otherwise than might be expected.

No. 4 is the only system that has a base line, and its elements appear in the fourteen letters which conclude No. 2; it is one of those which I copied at Hums, and it contains only the ancient and universal Semitic letters, lacking the last six of Arabic.

No. 5, also copied at Hums, is based upon the same system as the former; but the scribe gave warning that it is applied to Pehlevi or old Persian, whereas No. 4 is Arabic.

No. 6 is found in a manuscript called *El-Durar el-Muntakhabát fi Isláh el-Ghalatát el-Mashhúri*, or "Pearls Choice and Scattered, in Rectification of vulgar Errors." It was translated from Arabic into Turkish in A.H. 1221 (= A.D. 1805) and its information is distinctly borrowed from Ibn Wahshiyah's *Shauk El-mushtahá fi Ma'rifat Rumúz el-Aklám* ("Desirable Advice in the knowledge of the Secrets of written Characters"). As regards the assertion that Dioscorides wrote in the *Kalám el-Mushajjar* (Tree-shaped characters), perhaps the Arabic version of the Greek physician was made in this cryptogram; and the work of the translator or the scribe was eventually attributed by confusion to the author.

PART III.

Various Notes on Ogham-Runes and El-Mushajjar.

A correspondent in the United States, who does not wish to be named, draws my attention to the Lycian characters on the Xanthus Tomb and other casts and monuments in the British Museum.[45] During the last generation. some thirty years ago, it was the general opinion that the language of these epigraphs had some connection with Zend, and the characters with Greek. A few of the letters resemble Ogham-runes and El-Mushajjar: for instance, the characters below the alphabets (*loc. cit.*) are true runes ᛇ. ᛒ. and ᚴ. Mr. Sharpe suggests that they are imperfect copies of ᛉ. E or F. The other letters are apparently Phœnicio-Greek. I am also told that a similar family likeness appears in the coins called by Sestini[46] "Celtiberian;" and which M. Grassin,[47] with the generality of numismatologists, sets down as *médailles inconnues*.

Another correspondent threw out the following hint regarding "The Coins of the Eastern Khalifáhs

[45] See "An Account of Discoveries in Lycia," by Sir Charles Fellows. London: Murray, 1840. Especially the Lycian letters in p. 442, and Appendix B, "On the Lycian Inscriptions," by Daniel Sharpe. Also vol. i., pp. 193–196, Proc. of the Philological Society, Feb. 23, 1844.

[46] "Classes générales," 4to. Florentiæ, 1841.

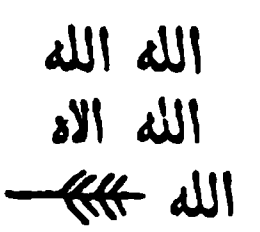
[47] "De l'Ibérie, 8vo. Leleux: Paris, 1838.

of the British Museum," by S. Lane Poole (vol. i, p. 175). *Croyez-vous que les arbrisseaux, au revers des médailles Sassanides, aient quelque rapport avec cette écriture?* He adds, "I find in the above volume 'Copper Coinage, Amawee, with formula of faith only.'"

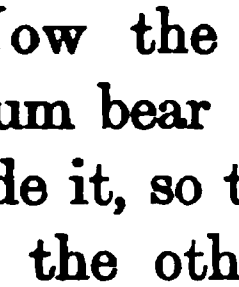
No. 17.
Rev.

No. 16.
Rev.

No. 19.
Obv.



"The subjoined contains the name of the mint (Tiberias) and bears no date :—

Rev. Area.	Rev. Margin.
	بسم الله ضرب هزا الفلس بطبريه (In Allah's name; this coin was minted at Tabariyyah.

"Now the earliest copper coins in the British Museum bear the date A.H. 92, and these evidently precede it, so that we may refer them to A.H. 77."

On the other hand I would remark that, in the four specimens given above, the "twigs" appear to be merely ornamental, being always in two, three, or four pairs, hence we must prefer the opinion of Prof. Stickel of Jena (*Muhammedanische Munzkunde*), followed by Mr. Bergmann of the Museum, Vienna, that they are either mint-signs, denoting the places of issue, Tiberias, Hamah, and Damascus; or that they are merely intended to fill up the area, like the circlets, the elephants, and other animals which appear upon the coins of Abd el-Malík bin

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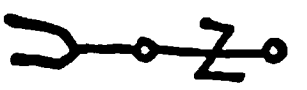

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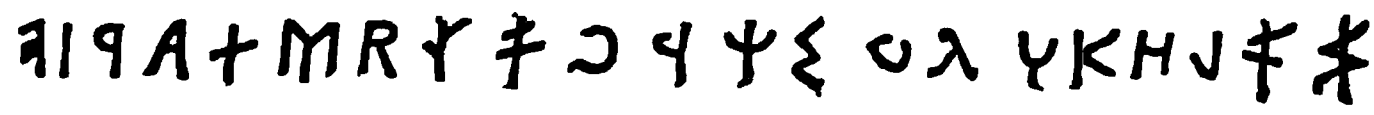

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[49] April 7, 1877.

He replied (November 26th, 1877) that it would be difficult to copy the swathes as the marks were doubtful, and that a competent photographer, Herr. Standl, had failed to reproduce them in sun-picture. The colour of the cloth had been darkened by time to a dull yellow, and the letters refused to make an impression; perhaps, however, a better instrument might have succeeded. The idea of washing the *fascie* (swathings) white was rejected for fear of obliterating the marks.

Two years before the date of my application the Oriental Society of Leipzig had addressed the Directors of the Museum, requesting a loan of the *bende* (bandages), but the Government had refused; promising, however, to aid the studies of *savants* charged with the transcription. And here the matter had dropped. At the instance of Dr. Leo Reinisch, the well-known Professor of Egyptology to the University, Vienna, Abbé Ljubié proposed to reproduce in print these *pannilini* (little cloths) and other interesting remains under his charge; but the "necessary" in the shape of a subsidy of public money was not forthcoming.

On June 4th, 1878, I received another letter from the Abbé, giving the history of the mummy as follows. According to the Museum registers, about half a century ago, one Michiele Burié, a *concepista* (inferior employé) of the Hungarian Aulic Chancellerie, brought it back with him from Egypt. The owner left it as a dying gift to his brother Elia, parish priest of Golubince, in Slavonía, and sub-deacon in the diocese of Dyakovar, where now resides the far-famed Mgr. Strossmeyer. This

ecclesiastical owner also dying, the mummy found its way to the Museum, packed, as it still is, in two modern chests, the horizontal containing the bandages and inner parts, and the vertical, the skeleton nude and propped by an iron bar. It is complete in all its parts; the hair is thick and well-preserved; and traces upon the brow suggest that the head had been partly gilt. According to the Abbé Ljubié, Dr. Brugsch, who inspected the mummy after it had been unrolled by others, pronounced it to be *Cretan*.

Traces of writing are shown by seven fragments, whose measure in mètres is as follows :—

No.	1	=	0·358 long	×	0·065 broad.
„	2	=	0·182 „	×	0·060 „
„	3	=	0·282 „	×	0·052 „
„	4	=	0·260 „	×	0·050 „
„	5	=	0·215 „	×	0·055 „
„	6	=	0·146 „	×	0·062 „
„	7	=	0·133 (?)	×	0·045 „

A local photographer, Sig. Pommer, at last succeeded in making a copy. The latter was sent to Prof. Leo Reinisch, who concluded his reply with; "*Vorläufig nur meine Ueberzeugung, dass wenn es Ihnen gelingt, die Inschriften zu publiciren, dieselben ein enormes Aufsehen in den gelehrten Kreisen machen werden.*" The Egyptologist was requested to apply for a subsidy to I. R. Academy of Sciences, Vienna, or to obtain subscriptions for covering the expenses of publication. Nothing of the kind, however, seems to have been done.

During my absence in Midian, Mrs. Burton sent

to Agram, for the purpose of copying the inscription, Mr. Philip Proby Cautley, of Trieste, who at first was looked upon as a rival photographer. Sig. Pommer had aspired to making a "good job": he asked ten florins for photographing each fourth of what may be looked upon as a chapter. On January 22nd, 1878, Mr. Cautley wrote to me as follows:—

"On the morning of my arrival at Agram I called on Abbé Ljubić, who received me most cordially, and put himself entirely at my disposal. I then inspected the bandages, of which many had been unswathed, and had been removed to the Director's study from the antiquarian department of the Museo del Triregno, where the mummy stands. Though well preserved on the whole, the greater part is illegible; time and the exudations of the dead have stained them dark-brown. They consist of linen-strips, varying from one to three yards in length, and cut off the piece, as they show no selvage. The breadth is about two inches; the stuff would be called coarse in our days, the warp and woof are equally thick; and the texture of the linen is very even.

"The writing is divided into sections of five or six lines each, measuring about seven and a half inches long, according to the length of the cloth. These must have been in hundreds; and one of the best specimens was shown to me at the town photographer's. Each piece appears to have been a chapter, separated by intervals of about two fingers breadth. The Abbé styled the characters *Græco antico mischiato con caratteri jeratichi*; and he thinks that the mummy dates from the third or fourth cen-

tury A.D.[50] The Græco-hieratic idea may have arisen from the condition of the thick strokes, which extended originally over one and even two threads; now they have been erased on the upper part of the thread, so as to leave marks, often double, in the intervening spaces only. I mentioned to the Director my intention of copying the characters on tracing-cloth; the simplicity of the idea seemed to excite his merriment. However, next morning he admired the results obtained, and he asked me to leave some of the material so that he might try his hand.

"Choosing a well-marked chapter, I went to work by pinning a piece of tracing-cloth over it, and then following the characters as exactly as possible with a pencil. Curious to say, the tracing-cloth, instead of preventing the characters being seen, or rendering them more indistinct, brought them out, I suppose by uniting the two strokes formed by the ink having been erased on the single threads. The work was continued as long as I could find a piece clear enough to be copied, and where the characters were near enough to one another for deciphering.

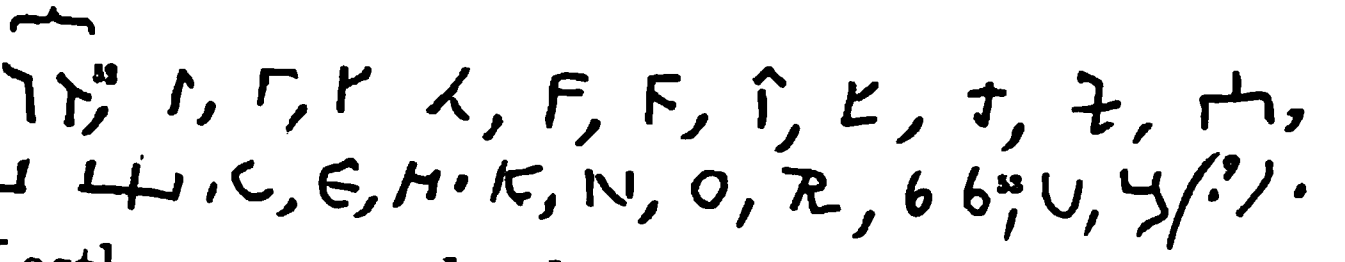
"The copies have been numbered from 1 to 5. In No. 3 you will remark that two lines are wanting at the bottom. The original does not show any stains or marks that could have been characters, while the three top lines are distinct. I take it, therefore, to have been the end of a chapter, or perhaps of the whole volume. No. 4 shows on the

[50] Dr. Brugsch-Bey, who upon these subjects is perhaps the highest living authority, assigns, as has been seen, the mummy to the fifth century B.C.

right hand a break in the manuscript which has been denoted by a dotted line."

So far Mr. Cautley, who did his work carefully and completely. I give it *in extenso.*

The following appears to be the alphabet. The signs number 27; but two of them are so similar to others that they may be omitted, thus reducing the total to 25: the number assigned by Plutarch to the hieroglyphic:—



Lastly, as regards the Agram mummy, I have received a promise from my learned friend, Dr. H. Brugsch-Bey, to send me his copies of the inscriptions taken from what he calls this *trésor inconnu.*

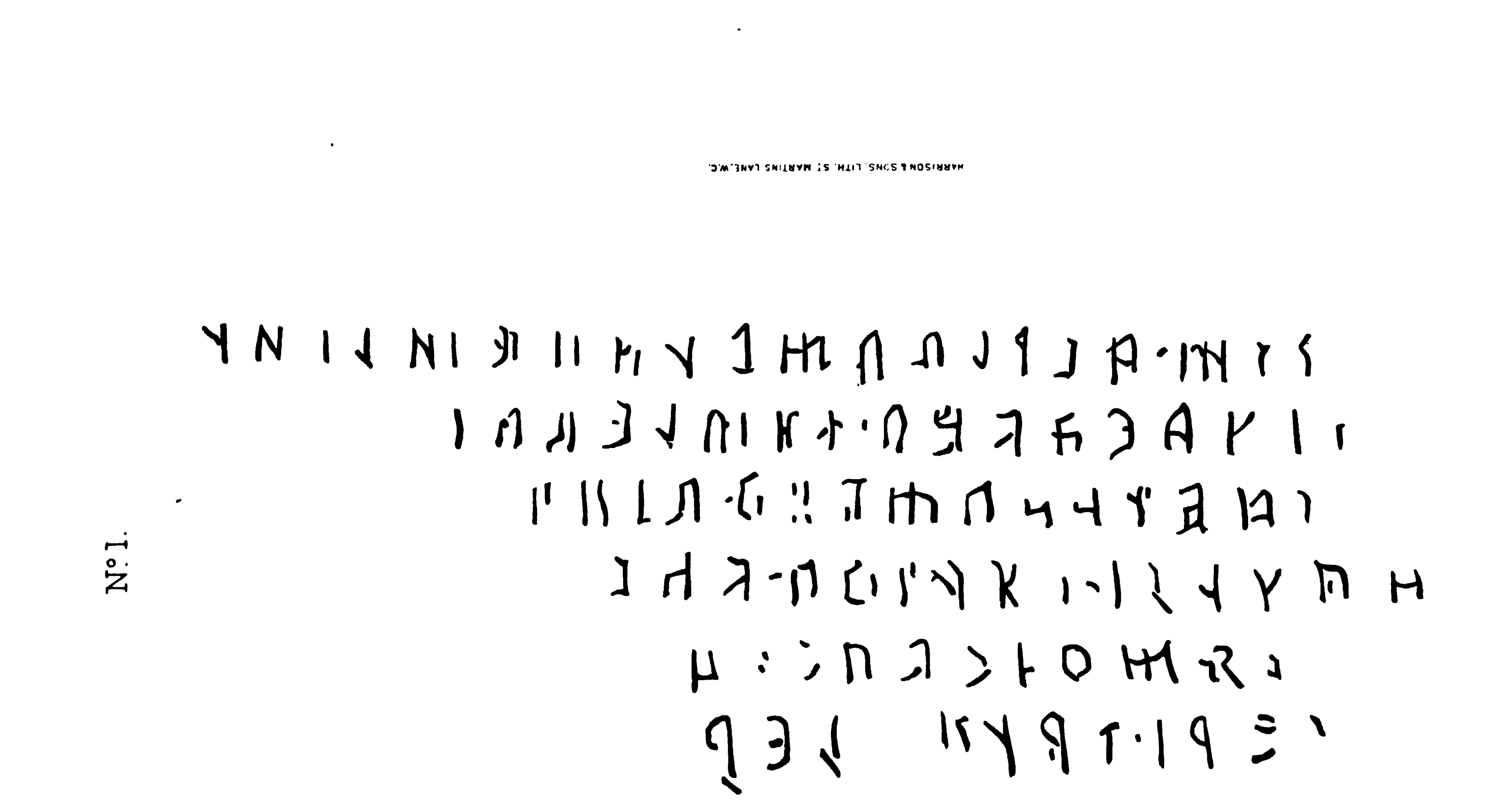
We have now reached B.C. 500; but we may go further back.[54] Dr. Schliemann's learned volume ("Troy and its Remains," London: Murray, 1875) shows, among the *monuments figurés*, not a few specimens of lines so disposed that, without having Ogham or El-Mushajjar on the brain, I cannot but hold them to be alphabetic. A few instances will suffice. We find the following two forms and on an inscribed terra-cotta seal (p. 24), which may consequently be presumed to be significant;[55] and there is something very similar on the "Piece of

[52] App. Brugsch (//) reversed.

[53] The same.

[54] The Siege of Troy would be about B.C. 1200, and the foundation of the city B.C. 1400. Thus 200 years would be allowed to the five Kings, Dardanus, Ericthonius, Tros, Ilus, and Laomedon, preceding Priam.

[55] See seal No. 78, with signs resembling the ancient *Koppa* stamped upon the coins of Corinth.



HARRISON & SONS, LITH. ST. MARTINS LANE, W.C.

N°1.

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N°. 2.

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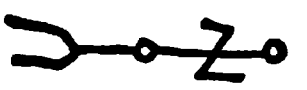

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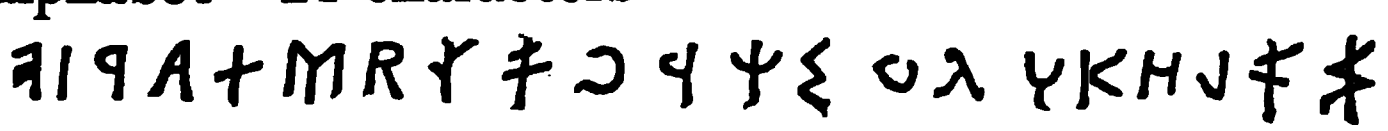

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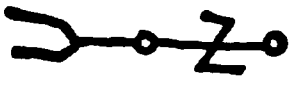

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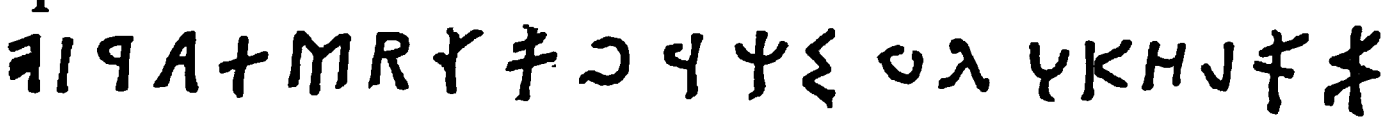

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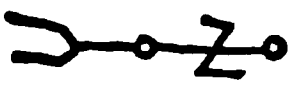

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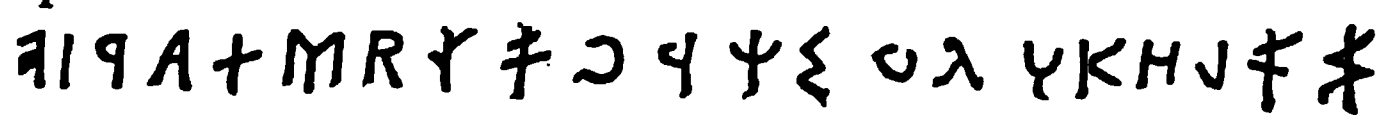

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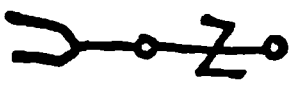

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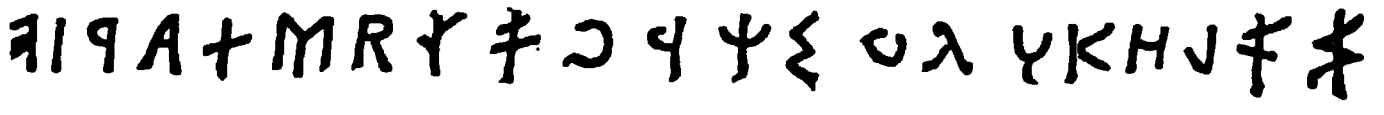

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Amongst the finds at the cemetery of Marzabotto, dating from at least 1000 B.C., I find the following Etruscan mark :—[57]

Again, my attention was drawn to Etruria by the fine folio, *Intorno agli Scavi archeologichi*[58] (in the Arnealdi property), near Bologna, lately published by the Count Senator G. Gozzadini, whose long labours have done so much in illustrating the condition of early remains in his native land.

Page 32 offers a highly interesting talk of *Sigle* ("potters' marks") from various cemeteries, especially that of Villanova. The destruction of the latter settlement was determined by the Count, from the presence of an *æs rude*, to date about B.C. 700, or the Age of Numa. M. de Mortillet,[59] on the other hand, would make it much older.

The table in question is divided into four heads: 1, those scratched (*graffiti*) on the base of the articles after baking; 2, the marks on other parts of the pottery also baked; 3, the basal *graffiti* made after the oven had done its work; and 4, the signs inscribed upon bronze vases. No. 1, numbering 39, supplies

[57] Table III., p. 2, "Marche figularie condotte a graffiti, nei vasi scoperti nella Necropoli di Marzabotto." Primo Supplemento. Parte Prima. Roma, &c., 1872.

[58] Bologna; Fava e Garagnani, 1877.

[59] Pp. 88–89 "Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme," &c.

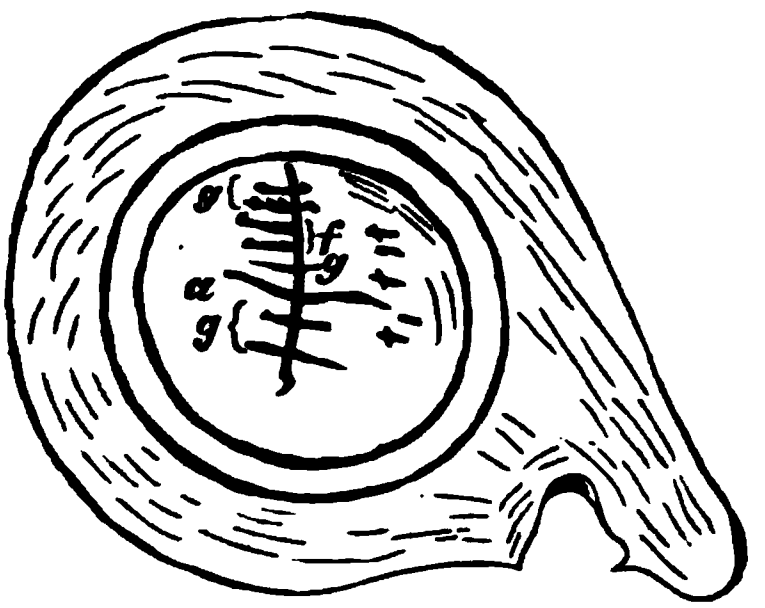
seven more or less connected in shape with the Palm-runes, without including the crosses which may belong to any age. The the and the are perfect with their variants, the and the . Less remarkable are the the and the seven-branched tree . No. 2 gives four types: viz., the , the , the , and the : in this category the five crosses are noticeable, varying from the simple to a complex modification of the Swastika (): that peculiarly Aryan symbol which gave rise first to the Christian "Gammadion," and lastly to the Maltese Cross. No. 3 gives three signs: the , the , and the , besides the two crosses plain () and crotchetted (). Lastly, No. 4 gives two: the and the . In Table 1, also, we find the Phœnician Alif (), and the same occurs eight (nine ?) times in the *Sigle*, which are printed (p. 236) in my little volume upon "Etruscan Bologna."

I venture to suggest that these *graffiti* are true letters and not mere marks. Similarly in the *Wusúm* ("tribal signs") of the Bedawin, we find distinct survival, real significance underlying what seems to be simply arbitrary. For instance, the circlet affected by the great 'Anezah, or Central Arabian family, is the archaic form of the Arabic Ayn, the Hebrew Oin, which begins the racial name.

The following communication to the *Archæographo Triestino*[60] suggests a further extension of the system also possibly Etruscan.

In September, 1876, I had occasion to visit the island-town Ossero, in the Gulf of Fiume, whose waters bathe the southern and the south-eastern shores of the Istrian peninsula. Landing at La Cavanilla, an ancient Suez Canal in miniature, spanned by a bridge right worthy of the Argonautic days, we were met by his Reverence Don Giovanni Bolmarcich, Archiprete of the Community, who was good enough to show us his finds and the places which had produced them. Amongst the number was a common-shaped sepulchral lamp (*lume eterno*) which struck me forcibly. The inscribed lines may have been, as suggested by the learned Dr. Carl Kunz, Director of the Museum of Antiquities, Trieste, the trick of a waggish apprentice; but they are disposed upon a true Fleasgh or Runi-Staff, which mere scratches would hardly be, and there is evident method in their ordering. If it be asked what El-Mushajjar and Ogham-Runes have to do in the Archipelago of Istria, I reply that "Palm-runes" appear in impossible places; and that the Lion of Marathon, which named the Piræus *Porto Leone*, and which still stands before the Arsenal, Venice, is covered as to the shoulders with legible Runic inscriptions. The following illustration shows the lamp in natural size, and the marks were drawn for me, in order to correct and control my own copy, by Don Giovanni.

[60] Fascicolo ii., vol. v. of 1877.



Amongst the impossible places where Ogham and Mushajjar-like lines appear must be included the tattoo of the New Guinea savages. Mr. Park Harrison has given the "characters tattooed on a Motu woman" from the south-eastern coast, whose arms, especially the right, and both whose breasts bare such types as ⋀ Y and ⋀. Philologists will bear in mind the curious resemblance which has been traced between Phœnician characters and the Rejang alphabet of Sumatra, which is mostly Phœnician inverted. In fact, it would not surprise me if future students established the fact that the whole world knows only one alphabet (properly so called), and that that is Phœnician.

I here conclude for the present my notices of the connection between the Ogham-Runes, "whose origin is still hidden in darkness," and the equally mysterious "Mushajjar," or Arabic-branched alphabet. Prof. J. Rhys, let me repeat, believes that the former is "derived in *some* way from the Phœnician alphabet"; but he holds his theory to be "highly hypothetical"; and he "would be only too glad to substitute facts for suppositions." It is my conviction that Ogham descends from an older and

even nobler stock. I hope some day to restore it to the East, and to prove that, in the former *El-Mushajjar*, it originated among the Nabathæo-Chaldeans. It would, indeed, be curious if the Ogham alphabet of the old schoolmaster, King Fenius (the Phœnician ?), concerning whom Irish tradition speaks with such a confident and catholic voice, should once more be traced back to the Plains of Shinar.

RICHARD F. BURTON.

THE EARTHLY PARADISE OF EUROPEAN MYTHOLOGY.

BY C. F. KEARY, ESQ.

(Read November 27th, 1878.)

WHEN Christianity drew a curtain in front of the past creeds of Heathen Europe, a veil through which many an old belief was left still faintly visible, she succeeded more than with most things in blotting out the images which in former days had gathered round the idea of a future state. It is almost as if the new religion were content to leave this world under much the same governance as before, provided only she were secured the undisputed possession of the world beyond the grave. So the heathen gods were not altogether ousted from their seats. The cloak of Odin—that blue mantle, the air, of which the sagas tell us—fell upon the shoulders of St. Martin; his sword descended to St. Michael or St. George: Elias or Nicholas drove the chariot of Hêlios or wielded the thunders of Thor.[1] They changed their names but not their characters, passing for a while behind the scene to be refurnished for

[1] Wuttke *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 19, and Grimm *Deut. Myth.*, pp. 127, 946, and 68 N., 371, 4th Ed. Elias Id., p. 144.

fresh parts: just as when the breath of the new creed blew over the fields, the old familiar plants and flowers died down—Apollo's narcissus, Aphroditê's lilies, Njoid's Glove, or Freyja's Fern—to grow up again as the flowers of Mary, Our Lady's hand, the Virgin's hair.[2] But it was different with the beliefs which passed beyond this life—the whole doctrine of a future state, which for the European races had belonged to the region of languid half belief,[3] became suddenly a stern reality.

It grew greater while worldly things grew less, until at last it seemed to take a complete hold upon the imagination, and to gather round itself all that was greatest in the poetical conception of the time. Then, from having been so impressive, the idea of eternity became familiar by constant use. At last it took, in the hands of dull unimaginative men, a ghastly prosaic character, whereby we see the infinities of pleasure and pain, of happiness or woe, mapped out and measured in the scales.

Beside the dreadful earnestness of the two pictures, the mediæval Heaven, and the mediæval Hell, the less obtrusive beliefs of earlier days fell into the background. The older notion of a future state was not so much of a place of reward or punishment as of a quiet resting after the toils of life, as the sun rests at the end of day. Now, if such a creed is

[2] Cf. Johannis Bauhini *De plantis a divis sanctisve nomena habentibus* Basiliæ 1521. Cf. also Grimm D. M. 4th Ed., p. 184, (Baldrs hrâr).

[3] *European races.* Among the Indo-European nationalities, the Persians raised the doctrine of Heaven and Hell to supreme importance, and in so doing, greatly, though indirectly, affected the creed of Christendom. The Persian beliefs had since the time of the fall of Babylon been largely infused into the Hebraic religion, quite revolutionising its ideas touching a future state.

to live on at all in the Middle Ages, it must do so in defiance of the dominant religion, it must do so in virtue of the Old Adam of pagan days not yet rooted out. It must find its home in the breasts of those who have not really been won over to the dominant creed; who resent as something new and intrusive, the presence of a restraining moral code, or who would fain believe that the neglected gods are not really dead; that they are, like Baal, asleep, or upon a journey and have not for ever given up their rule. It was through these influences, that the pagan notions of a future state survived in the mediæval pictures of an Earthly Paradise. This was a place of sensuous ease, unblessed perhaps by the keenest enjoyments of life, but untouched also with the fear by which these pleasures are always attended—that they will soon be snatched away. The saints and confessors might have their heaven and welcome. Such a place of rapturous emotion was not suited to the heroes of chivalry. There must be another home set apart for them, for Arthur and his Knights, for Charlemagne and his Paladins; where, untroubled by turbulent emotions, they shall enjoy the fruit of their labours "in a perpetual calm."

We cannot fully appreciate the history of the Middle Ages, if we leave out of account the distinct anti-Christian undercurrent accompanying their course; though of less force than the current of the main stream, it is not to be overlooked, whether it be the genuine heathenism of the ruder newly-converted lands, or that sort of paganism or atheism of lands which in comparison of their times were almost over-civilised. The first kind is so well ex-

pressed by the words *pagan* and *heathen*, men of rural villages, and men of the uncultivated heaths and moors; the second kind was that of countries like Provence, which having been conquered and overrun, time out of mind by successive bands of Romans, Goths, Franks, and Arabs was old and enervated while the northern nations were vigorous and young. Provence began a sort of private renaissance before the time for a renaissance had come; it gave a new direction to the impulses of chivalry, it fostered *la gaie science*, and sent out its companies of troubadours and minne-singers, exercising their art to call men away from thoughts of the day of judgment, and to drown with their songs the perpetual chanting of masses and the toll of bells. We cannot overlook these elements in mediæval life.

The Gothic cathedral is a lasting memorial to the glory of Catholicism; but examine it closely, look in neglected corners or at the carvings beneath the seats and you will see strange sights, not altogether provocative to holy meditation. Dante strikes, no doubt, the true note: but in the pauses of his stately music you may hear the laughter of Boccaccio.

Forces such as these existed to foster the belief in an Earthly Paradise. The simple folk who would not quite abandon the creed of their forefathers, were wont to account in two ways for the disappearance of their ancient divinities. Sometimes the peasant fancied they had gone to sleep for a hundred years: Wuotan (or Odin)—changing in course of time to Charlemagne or Frederick Barbarossa—was sleeping under the Gudensberg[4] (Wuotansberg), or

[4] In Hesse, see Grimm D. M., p. 137, 4th Ed.

at Kaiserlautern: Horsel, another Teutonic divinity, and afterwards Venus, slept under the Horselberg. Or he deemed that they had been taken to some happy land, his Earthly Paradise, whereof old beliefs and prejudices kept alive the memory. Arthur, for instance, who was a god before he became a knight, had been wafted away in this manner. "I go to the vale of Avalion to be healed of my grievous wounds," he said to Sir Belvidere, when the barge "in which were many fair ladies, and among them a queen," had borne him from mortal sight.[5] Roland and Ogier, the Paladins, and as some say, Charles himself, had been carried off in a like fashion while still alive. All these stories began in folk-lore, and then were amplified and adorned by the minstrels, and became in their hands the *literature* of gentle societies.

Catholicism of course made some concession to this spirit. A way for doing this was opened by the Biblical account of the garden of Eden; for though the Mosaic record says that man was turned out of the garden, it says nothing about the destruction of Paradise. And accordingly we find lay and clerical writers alike speculating upon the nature of this place and the road by which it was to be reached: and presently we find accounts of both real and mythical voyages to the East in search of the desired land. But there still remained a question between orthodoxy and ancient heathenism. The former naturally insisted upon the fact that Eden was in the East, but heathenism had an obstinate prejudice that its Paradise lay westward; so on this point there was a battle between the two faiths. In

[5] Sir T. Malory, *Mort d'Arthure*, c. 168.

truth we find that like a needle when the neighbouring magnet has been withdrawn, popular belief when not under the pressure of ecclesiastical teaching, tends constantly to vere round from the orthodox tradition of the Eastern Paradise. What in one century is related of Eden, in the course of a hundred years is transferred, no apology made, to some new found land of the Atlantic: as happens to the *fons vitæ* which Sir John Mandeville said he had discovered in Ceylon, close to the holy garden. In a little while, as the *fontaine de jouvence*, it appears again in the Canaries, thence it passes to the Bahamas and then settles upon the continental coast of America.[6] But the most widespread example of this force of popular belief is seen in the legend of St. Brandan's Isle. St. Brandan was a monk who is supposed during the eighth century to have made a voyage to Paradise, and the story of this voyage became one of the most widespread legends of the Middle Age. Though the legend itself certainly represents the saint as sailing eastward, tradition insisted upon believing the island was in the West. Sometimes it was to the west of Ireland; it could be seen in certain weathers from the coast, but when an expedition was fitted out to go and land there, the island somehow seemed to disappear. Or it was localised in the Canaries. It was, as the Spanish and Portuguese declared, an island which had been sometimes lighted upon by accident, but when sought for could not be found (*quando se busca non se halla*).

[6] Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*. Humboldt *Geog. du Nouveau Cont.*, *Vol. III*, *p.* 194. Cf. D'Avizac, *Les Iles Fantastiques*, *&c.*, and Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, *&c.*

A king of Portugal is said to have made a conditional surrender of it to another when it should be found, and when the kingdom of Portugal ceded to the Castilian crown its rights over the Canaries, the treaty included the island of St. Brandan, described as "the island which had not yet been found."[7] Even such a burlesque picture of an Earthly Paradise as that of the celebrated Land of Cockaygne, is a relic of the popular creed; here too the happy land is placed in the West. Our English poetical version begins :—

Farre awaye by weste Spayn,
Is a londe yhight Cockaign.[8]

Down, therefore, till the end of the Middle Ages, that is down to the disappearance of the last remaining trace of heathenism, we can discover the impress of a widespread and ancient belief in an Earthly Paradise, as a happy deathless land lying far away in the West. I will now ask you to go back with me to a much higher point in the stream of time, to mark the rise of this belief, and then to follow it downwards through the various stages of its growth and decay.

Reasonable conjecture, something more indeed than mere conjecture, has placed the home of our

[7] Wright. *The Voyage of St. Brandan.* Percy Soc. Pub., Vol. XIV.

[8] Harl. MS. 913. This is a very witty parody of monkish visions or popular creeds of Paradise, and is found both in French and English versions as early as the 12th century. What can be better than this estimate of the universal hope of rest from labour at a money value?—

"Qui plus i dort plus i gaigne
Cil qui dort jusqu'à midi
Gaigne cinq sols et demi."

Cf. Wright. "St. Patrick's Purgatory," p. 52

ancestors of the Indo-European race, in that country which lies westward from the Beloot Tagh, northward from the Hindoo Koosh, and all the region of barren Afghanistan ?[9] This land, the ancient Bactria, was once celebrated among the countries of the world for its fertility, and though it has lost much of its old beauty, is still one of the best cultivated districts of Central Asia, both in a material and in an intellectual sense.[10] The high ranges which lie at their backs, cut off from the inhabitants all communication with the east or south. The rivers which go to swell the waters of the Amau and Sihon (the Oxus and Jaxartes), all flow westward; there lies their only outlet. From the mere circumstances of their geographical situation we might expect that when the ancient dwellers in this land migrated in search of fresh homes they could travel westward. And this we know they did. Out of the Aryan stock who once inhabited this land by far the greater portion found their way to Europe and became the ancestors of the various European nations. Before that their wanderings began, this people stood with their backs to the mountains, and their faces towards the West, and every day they followed the sun's course and saw him sink beneath the low western horizon. As time went on, as their numbers increased, and provisions grew scarce, and it became more and more evident that they could not all stay in their present home, they must have felt that their only outlet lay to the

[9] For the arguments in favour of this home for our Aryan progenitors, see Pictet, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes* passim.

[10] Bokhara is at this day a centre of Mohammedan learning.

West. These Aryans were great worshippers of the Sun-god: and we need not fear to be taunted with holding exaggerated notions upon what has been called the sun-myth theory, because we acknowledge the important place which this planet must have in every Pantheon, the special influence which he had upon the mythology of the Indo-European nations. It is not only when the sun is a chief deity that his attractive power is felt. He may sink far below the position of a supreme god, become rather a demigod than a divinity; but precisely on account of these changes the sun will exert a special influence over those parts of a creed which touch closely upon the daily wants of humanity. Now, the sun is essentially the wandering god; his journey had long been watched by the Aryans with special interest; when their journeys began he became their natural guide and leader; like him they travelled westwards. But there is another way in which the Sun-god touches the life of man, an essential and universal way. He is the god who dies. All images of death among every people are drawn primarily from the image of the dying sun and the departing day. As the traveller, the sun pointed to the European races the course of their migrations: as the dying god, he showed them the course of another journey, which the soul makes when disjoined from the body.

There is nothing distinctively Aryan in the belief of the journey after death. Every nation has possessed it, and associated it with the journey of the sun to his place of setting. But the creed has taken different forms in different lands, and has been necessarily affected by the geographical

situation of those who held it. The Egyptians, for instance, for whom the sun set behind the trackless desert, which lay on the left side of their great and sacred Nile—while the cities of the living were upon the right bank—showed in their ritual the dead man crossing the river of the dead, travelling through the dark land of the serpent-king Apap,[11] until at last he reaches the house of Osiris, the hidden sun. Our Aryans used the same imagery, with variations of local colouring. In both myths there is the same childlike confusion of thought between the subjective and objective; between the position of the myth-maker and that of the phenomenon out of which he weaves his story. Because towards sunset the sun grows dim and the world too, it is imagined that the sun has now reached a dim twilight place, such as the Egyptians pictured in their region of Apap, or the Greeks in their Kimmerian land upon the borders of earth. But when the sun has quite disappeared, then inconsistently it is said that he has gone to a land which is his proper home, whence his light, whether by day or night, is never withdrawn. The twilight region is the land of death, the bright land beyond is the home of the blessed: such are the general notions, which among a primitive people correspond to our Hell and our Heaven.

M. Pictet, who has carried on an ingenious train of inductive reasoning upon the life of our Indo-European ancestors, founded upon the information

[11] Apap, "the immense," a personification of the desert, and hence of death. He may be compared with the great mid-earth serpent (midgaard worm) of the Norse mythology, which is a personification of the sea and death in one. See *infra*.

to be gleaned from Comparative Philology, places the older members of the race, those from whom descended in after years the Indians and Iranians, close against the eastern hills, and in a circle outside of these, the people who went to form the nations of Europe, and who, before they broke up into separate tribes, bore the common name of Yavanas, the *younger*—*i.e.*, the fighting members of the community.[12] These therefore lay upon the borders of the cultivatable land. At the present day a broad belt of desert lies between the fertile valleys of Bactria, and the Caspian Sea. While the latter are inhabited by a settled and agricultural people, the great Khuwaresm desert produces only vegetation enough to support a few Cossacks and wandering Turkic tribes. But there is sufficient reason to believe that this was not always the case; but that a great part of what is now dry land was once the bed of the Caspian, which was probably joined on to the Sea of Aral, and extended in every direction farther than it now extends. The Caspian is known to have fallen greatly in its banks, and not at a remote period, but within historical times;[13] the process of shrinking would in a double way tend to the creation of desert both by exposing the dry bed of the sea, and by rendering the other land sterile when so much neighbouring water was withdrawn. Some have thought that the growth of the desert, coinciding with a parallel growth of the Aryan people, first set these last upon their journeys.

[12] Akin to *juvenis*, from *juvare*.

[13] Strabo speaks of the Caspian as being joined to the Sea of Aral. The Oxus and Jaxartes probably both flowed into the Caspian in ancient days. See Wood, "Shores of Lake Aral."

We may, then, picture our ancestors, before their migrations began, settled in great part upon the shores of the Caspian Sea, which was then of greater extent than it now is. A larger number still, who had never seen the ocean, would through rumour get some notion of its existence: in the special myth we are considering, the myth of death, it lay ready to play just the same part which was taken by the Great Sahara in the Egyptian religion. As the Egyptian dead had to cross the desert to arrive at their Paradise, the house of Osiris, so the Aryan, in imagination, crossed after death the wide waste of waters and came by a long sea voyage to the palace of the sun in the west. It was, I suspect, in this their early home, that the belief in a Paradise lying in some happy island beyond the western sea first arose, and thus became the property of all the European races. Before they had ventured to explore its solitudes, the sea would be looked upon by them as crossed by all the *Souls* on their last journey. It would become the Sea of Death. And as a fact, we find that that word for sea, which is most common in the various European languages, is from the same root as a word—as widely spread—for death: *mare*, Meer (German), meer, from the same root as *mors*, murder.[14] Thus much therefore we know by the infallible testimony of language, that when our earliest ancestors pronounced the name of

[14] From an Aryan root, *mara*, we get Skr., *mara*, death, *a-mara*, immortal, Zend, *mara*, *mâra*, death, Grk. *μόρος*; and in the second degree, Skr., *mrta*, death, Grk. *βρότος*, (= Germ., blut, blood), Lat. *mors*.

From the same Aryan root *mara* we get Skr. *mira*, ocean, Grk. *ἀμαρία* ditch, sewer, Lat., *mare*.

the sea, the idea of death was not far distant from their thoughts.

That was in days before their migrations: when these began it is likely enough that the Yavanas first travelled by land, and only when they had reached new seas, ventured upon the dreadful element.[15]

A desert, such as the Egyptian desert, or a sea like the Caspian, forms a natural barrier between the living and the dead. Without such a bar, if men supposed that some happy land lay to the west of them, it would be hardly possible that they should refrain from an attempt to get there, living. When a belief of this kind becomes very literal and, as it were, *geographical*, we meet with frequent accounts of travellers who go in search of the desired place. In the course of the Middle Ages, the story of the Earthly Paradise became translated into this literal language, and the outcome were frequent expeditions —more by many than we know of now—to find it. At last they ended happily in the discovery, if not of a deathless land, at any rate of a new world. In just the same spirit are the journeys of that king we read of in the Heimskringla Saga—Swegder Fiolnersson was his name—who made a solemn vow to seek Odin and the home of the gods. Asgaard had lost its grand supersensuous meaning in his days: it was simply a city of the earth and a place to be got to. Snorro tells us how Swegder wandered about for many years on his quest—in vain, as we might expect—and of the strange way he found, not Paradise, but Death instead. One day he came to an immense

[15] We argue this *inter alia* from the fact mentioned below of the Greeks having a separate word for sea, meaning "the way."

stone as large as a house. Beneath it sate a dwarf, who called out, "Come Swedger, this is the road to Paradise," and being very drunk, Swedger and his man ran towards the stone. Then a door opened in the stone; the king ran in and the door immediately closed upon him so that he was never seen again.[16]

The effect of the first wanderings of the Aryans must necessarily have been to take away much of the mystery and awe which had settled round the Sea of Death: and though the original belief would not leave them, there would grow up alongside of it the more cosmological conception of a strictly *Earthly* Paradise. The earliest Paradise is in a sense an earthly one: its site is never distinctly disjoined in thought from the earth. Though somehow it can never be reached save through the portal of death, it is never acknowledged that the dead do actually leave the world of man. This inconsistency of thought—if it is one—could be preserved without an effort by a sedentary people. The Egyptian probably never inquired why living men might not cross the desert to the house of Osiris. But when the nation begins to move, the thought springs up: Why *is* Death the only road to the home where our fathers have gone? May we not arrive at the happy immortal land by an easier, at any rate, by a less painful route? Come what may they resolve to try.

Of all the European races the Greeks were the first who took to the sea; a fact pretty evident from what we can trace of the routes taken by their

[16] "Ynglinga Saga," 15.

brother nations, and indeed indicated by the peculiarity of the Greek names for the sea, names unconnected with death, but *θάλασσα*, salt water, or *πόντος* a path.[17] The advantages of situation which Greece enjoyed are to be credited with this circumstance. As Curtius points out so well, where Europe and Asia meet in the Ægean, Nature has made no separation between the two worlds. "Sea and air unite the coasts of the Archipelago into a connected whole, the same periodical winds blow from the Hellespont as far as Crete, and regulate navigation by the same conditions, and the climate by the same changes. Scarcely one point is to be found between Asia and Europe where in clear weather the mariner would feel himself left in solitude between sky and water; the eye reaches from island to island, and easy voyages of a day lead from bay to bay." It was in this nearness of shore to shore, from the invitation of the islands spread out like stepping stones across the calm Ægean, that the Greek people, when their wanderings brought them to the limits of Asia Minor, did not hesitate long before they crossed over to European Greece and joined the two shores under the dominion of one race. Very early in prehistoric days, long before the age of Homer, they had become familiar with their own Greek sea, with all its islands and all its harbours; but it was long after this that their mariners had rounded Cape Matapan; longer still before the first Greek had sailed as far as Sicily. Some tidings of the distant lands of the Mediterranean were brought by Phœnician navigators, and afterwards by their

[17] Connected with the Skr. *pantha*, *pathi* and our *path*.

own more adventurous sailors ; and with this slender stock of real knowledge, imagination was busy in mingling the stories of a mythic world. For the old wonder which had so long hung round the Western Sea and Western lands, was still alive, and whatsoever had in former times been dreamt of concerning the Caspian Sea was now transferred to the Mediterranean. Thus arose the endless pictures which Greek poetry has left behind it of the Western Paradise, whether this be called the land of the Hesperides, the Elysian Plain, Meropis, or the Islands of the Blessed, where Kronos lives and Rhadamanthus reigns. For under every name, the substantial meaning is the same, the same description would, with small change, serve for each :

Where round the island of the blessed,
Soft sea-winds blow continually,
Where golden flowers on sward and tree,
Blossom, and on the water rest,
There move the Saints in garlands dressed,
And intertwined wreaths of odours heavenly.[18]

And in the sea on the way to these islands lay all the strange wild adventures which a man might expect to meet with on his journey to the dead : there are the islands of Kalypso or of Kirkê, or of the Kyklops, or the land of the Lotophagi, the children of sleep. And still as imagination outstripped knowledge, the Sea of Death retreated farther and farther to the westward, and beyond the Mediterranean lay the utterly fabulous Okeanos with the land of shades upon its farther shore. In most of these stories there is an element of truth and an element of

[18] Pindar, *Olymp.*, 2.

fiction, which it is impossible for us to disentangle: a thin substratum of reality, let us rather say, overlaid by a world of fancy. Euhemerist geographers, like Pliny or Strabo, may try to give the Earthly Paradise of the Greeks a local position by identifying the garden of the Hesperides with a land near Ceuta, or with some island in the Atlantic Ocean;[19] Justin Martyr, on the other hand, says that these are one with the Biblical Paradise.[20] Each is in his way right. Shall we say that the mythic golden apples were not the first oranges brought to Greece?

In any story which professed to relate the adventures of explorers in the West when, so far as real knowledge went, the western lands were still a closed book to the Greeks, the teller must make up for the want of fact, by drawing upon the store of fancy. He must use, not his own imagination only, but the fancy of generations of men who have gone before, and his history will include many images and myths, of which he himself does not know the origin: What have been once a relation in figurative language of the story of the *departure* of the dead, and images which told more directly of the prototypical journey to the sun to his setting, will in this narrative assume the air of fact. A tale of this kind is the Odyssey. In its direct intention, it is only a sailor's story of adventure in the Mediterranean; but in that earlier meaning which lies hidden in it—which it half reveals and half conceals—it is a myth of the soul's journey to the realms of death. We have no need here to enter into that long con-

[19] "Pliny," VI, 31, 36.
[20] "Cohort. ad Græcos," 28.

troversy over the relative antiquity and the relative merits of the two great poems ascribed to Homer. But we cannot avoid taking note of the marked difference in the subject matter of the two epics, a difference which would alone suffice to give to each a distinctive character. The story of the Iliad may be mythical; but in the poem it puts on all the garb of history. There is, one might say, no *unnatural* element in it, for even the supernatural beings are compelled to conform to the human standard. The bard is never oppressed by a sense of the unknown, the unlikely, the real supernatural; he is sailing in a trusty barque upon known waters. In this I think lies the secret of the superior greatness of the Iliad, for a poet can only attain his highest altitudes when the substance of his art is formed out of—I will not say fact—but belief, which has become so constant and familiar as to take almost the shape of fact. That sense of reality which drags down prosaic minds is for him the proper medium of his flight: no sham beliefs or half beliefs are at his best moments possible to him. So we should never have had the Divine Comedy, unless the vulgar literalness of priestly minds, confounding metaphors with fact, had in its pseudo-philosophy mapped out the circles of Heaven and Hell, as an astronomer maps out the craters of the moon. The Iliad has over the Odyssey just this advantage: that the former is occupied with the familiar world of Greek life; the other is cast abroad upon a sea of speculation and fancy. The difference is a difference of geography. The Iliad is the poem of the Ægean and its shores: the Odyssey deals with the fabulous Mediterranean.

That the Odyssey was written as an allegory of the soul's journey, I have already disclaimed any thought of contending. Anything may be construed into an allegory if we are minded to make the attempt. Calderon, I think it is, who has a very pretty play in which the voyage of Ulisses is treated in this fashion. Ulisses is the human soul, his journey the soul's journey through life, and the sailors who man the barque are all the desires which distract the mind from the pursuit of what is best. No such fanciful notions were present in the minds of Homer or of his audience. They were realistic up to the limit of their knowledge ; but that went such a little way. And therefore it easily falls out that the wanderings of Odysseus do in reality little else than to repeat in many forms the old-established myth of death, and of the soul's voyage to seek its paradise after death. Or we may, more truly perhaps, look upon the hero as the one living being of his race who performs the journey and returns to tell the tale.

A myth is in its first shape not a continuous story, but a picture presenting, like the pictures of poetry, some aspect of nature clothed with a human character, or some human thought translated into the imagery of natural things. It would be a tedious attempt to unravel all the pictures of death and paradise which the Odyssey encloses, but it may be worth while to look at what seems to be the kernel of the story, and in unfolding that, to glance by inference at the remaining parts ; this nucleus by itself presents the most complete though most primitive story of the journey to the Earthly Paradise which has been

preserved for us by any European people. It is almost an axiom for the resolving of any mythic tale into its constituent elements, that when we find a part of the history told as an interlude during the action of the rest, we conclude that the two portions were once independent, and have been forced into a connection, in order that the story may seem more ample or more complete. I could, did time permit, give many instances where such a course has been pursued in the construction of an epic. In the case of the Odyssey this discriminating test at once separates from the smaller nucleus the greater part of the adventures of the hero. All the events which Odysseus recounts while sitting in the hall of Alkinoös, though they are supposed to tell the earlier history of his voyage, are no doubt additions to the original tale, which follows directly the course of the poem till the wanderer is brought to the island of the Phæakians, and then takes up its interrupted thread when his story is finished and Alkinoös prepares his return voyage to Greece.

Let us therefore put out of our heads the total sum of Odysseus' previous adventures, and discover him first, as Homer does, upon the Island of Ogygia, the home of Kalypso. Our first appeal, if we wish to penetrate the deeper, or at least the earlier, meaning which lies behind the mere narrative, must be to the assistance of philology, without which the study of myths would become like surgery divorced from anatomy, or astronomy without mathematics. Etymologists connect the word Ogygia with Okeanos, and this shows that the name was not originally the name of an island, so much as the general name of

the sea. It means moreover something primeval, so that it is also the name of Egypt,[21] the oldest land of the world, and Ogygês is the name of the earliest Attic King,[22] and in this sense Oxygia is likewise chosen as the home of Time, Kronos. But so Okeanos is spoken of as the oldest of all things.[23] Kalypso, the nymph who inhabits here, in *her* name reveals her character still more plainly than Ogygia displays *its* origin. This name corresponds etymologically with our Hell, which was originally the name, not of a place, but of the goddess of death (Hel) and comes from the Icl. *helja* to cover or conceal. So Kalypso from *καλύπτειν*. Hel too is closely related to the sea.[24] Kalypso, therefore, is Death, as Ogygia is the Sea of Death.

It is when Odysseus has been seven years in the embrace of this dreadful goddess that Hermes comes from the gods with commands that she shall set the hero free. She is not dreadful here, nor her abode anything but a quiet home of sleep. Coming over the sea like the wind of morning,[25] the divine messenger finds her within her cave, at the mouth of which burns a fire (we often meet with this

[21] "Eustath. ad Dion," p. 42, Hard. ed.

[22] Ogyges is the name of two primeval kings, one of Bœotia and the other of Attica. The second is father of Eleusis. Paus. I, 38, § 7, and IX, 5, § 1.

[23] Il. XIV, 246.

[24] That is to *Jörmungandr* the "great monster," a personification of the sea, who is the brother of Hel. These with their third brother Fenrir and their father Loki, form a sort of chthonic group, each being in some way typical of death or the underworld. *Snorra Edda.* Dæmisaga 33.

[25] That is to say he is the wind, and on this occasion the morning wind. Homer likens him to the sea-gull fishing over the barren sea.

fire at the entrance to the house of death) a fire of cedar and frankincense, which wafts its scent over the island. Kalypso is singing, and as she sings she moves over the web a golden shuttle.[26] In the wood behind the birds a brooding. Hermes is, we know, the St. Peter of mythology, carrying the keys of Hell and Death, only that instead of keys he bears that magic wand of his—his "slepy yerde," as Chaucer calls it—or as Homer says in this place :—

> The rod,
> Wherewith the eyes of men he shuts in sleep,
> Or opens sleeping.

It is not only over sleeping and waking, but over Life and Death that the rod has power. Its too common use is to drive the souls down to the dark kingdom of Hades ; here it changes its function, and restores a man to life.

The tale would, however, be but half complete if the wanderer returned home at once. He has passed through the jaws of death—the gates of hell, we may say, have not prevailed against him—there remains for him to visit the island of the blessed before he brings back report of his doings :—

> What reports,
> Yield those jealous courts unseen ?

Further dangers lie in wait for him who would gain Paradise : Odysseus has sailed but a little way from Ogygia when Poseidôn raises a storm to destroy him ; and but for the help of Athênê, he would have been destroyed, and of the nymph Leukothea, a goddess of morning brightness, enemy to the powers

[26] "Od." V. 63.

of darkness and death. Stretching himself upon Leukothea's veil, which serves him as another raft, Odysseus is borne at last to Scheria, the land of the Phæakians. If the first island literally meant ocean, the name of this island is *shore*—Σχερία from σχερός; and in this contrast of meaning there is all that is appropriate, for it takes us back to a time when the myth of the great traveller was more simple than we find it in Homer, and told only of his passing over the sea and arriving at the coast beyond. But this shore is Paradise, for here are the famous gardens of Alkinoös, so like the gardens of the Hesperides, so like all the pictures which before and after have been drawn of an Earthly Paradise. There the trees and flowers never grow old, winter does not succeed to summer, but all is one continued round of blossoming and bearing fruit; here a tree still in bloom; there one on which the fruit is green, and there a third whose clusters are already fully ripe.[27] The notion of identifying this Scheria with the island of Corcyra is quite inconsistent with Homer's account. Scheria lay, evidently, like the land of the daughters of the West, on the farther side of the Mediterranean; for Alkinoös himself shows this when he says: "Far away do we live at the end of the watery plain; nor before now have we had dealings with other mortals. But now there comes hither this luckless wanderer; him it is right that we help for all men fellows and strangers come from Zeus, and in the sight of Zeus the smallest gift is pleasing."[28] Remote from the mortal world, but in

[27] "Od." VII, 114, &c.
[28] "Od." VI, 204, &c.

familiar converse with the gods,[29] the Phæakians live like the blameless Æthiopians, somewhere upon the confines of the earth. Here it was that yellow haired Rhadamanthus fled when persecuted and driven from Crete by his brother Minos ;[30] the just Rhadamanthus who elsewhere is placed as ruler in the land of the blessed.[31]

The Phæakians have no dealings with mortals, and yet strangely enough they have ships which know all the cities and homes of men. These barques are at once their most mysterious and most famous property ; yet although from their possession of them they are called the oar-loving Phæakians, it would seem as though the islanders take small part in the voyages made by their ships. The vessels ask no aid from pilot or oar, for they themselves know the thoughts and minds of men ; they know all the cities and rich fields of mortals and swiftly pass over the crests of the sea shrouded in night and mist.[32] We know well the mission which brings the silent vessels to every city, every port, every field of men. They are but the counterparts of the " grim ferryman whom poets tell of" and his boat, only instead of crossing the underground Styx, they ply over the Western Sea, which is the Sea of Death. The Phæakians may be unacquainted with mortals, but they know those who alight from these dark ships. Their land is the land of souls.

Welcker, speaking of the Phæakians and their

[29] "Od." VI, 203. Near to the gods (*αγχίθεοι*), as Zeus himself declares. "Od." V, 35.

[30] "Od." VII, 323.

[31] "Od." IV, 563.

[32] "Od." VIII, 562.

vessels,[33] recalls the story of Procopius[34] touching the fishermen upon the northern coast of Gaul, how these were excused from the ordinary incidence of taxation on account of the strange duty which they were selected to perform. To them was assigned the office of ferrying the souls across the channel to the opposite Island of Brittia, which is none other than our own land. The task fell upon them by rotation, and those villagers whose turn had come round were awoke at dead of night by a gentle tap upon the door, and a whispering breath calling them to the beach. There lay vessels to all appearance empty and yet weighed down as if by a heavy freight. Pushing off, the fishermen performed in one night the voyage which else they could hardly accomplish, rowing and sailing, in six days and nights. Arrived at the strange coast, they heard names called over and voices answering as if by rota, while they felt their vessels gradually growing light; and when all the ghosts had landed they were wafted back to the habitable world. Claudian makes allusion to the same belief, referring to the same locality, and connects it with the journey of Odysseus to Hades:

> Est locus extremum quâ pandit Gallia littus
> Oceani prætentus aquâ, ubi fertur Ulisses
> Sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.
> Illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum,
> Flebilis auditur questus; simlacra coloni
> Pallida, defunctasque vident migrare figuras.[35]

And I cannot help associating with the same super-

[33] "Rheinesches Museum," Vol. I, 1833. *Die Homerische Phäaken.*
[34] "Bell. Goth." IV.
[35] "In Rufin" I, 123.

stition a story which we find in Paulus Diaconus.[36] When Pertaric, the dethroned king of Lombardy, was fleeing from the power of Grimvald the Usurper, he went first to France; but finding that Dagobert II, the Merovingian king, was friendly to Grimvald, and fearing lest he should be delivered over to his enemy, he took ship to pass over to Britain. He had been a little while upon the sea, when a voice came from the hither shore, asking whether Pertaric was in that ship; and the answer was given, "Pertaric is here." Then the voice cried, "Tell him he may return to his own land, for Grimvald departed from this life three days ago." Surely this must have been the ghost of Grimvald himself, arrived at the point of his sea transit. Perhaps he could not pass over until he had made this reparation for the injury done.

Now, in all these stories I see evidence that the myth of the Sea of Death, which is, as we shall soon see, a universal Indo-European myth, had become specially localised at this spot. But I see no reason for acceding to Welcker's suggestion that the story of the Phæakians was adopted from a German or a Celtic source. For Odysseus' journey to the Earthly Paradise is as natural, as thoroughly Greek, as any other of the adventures of his voyage, and the whole of this voyage is in its mythical aspect a journey upon the Sea of Death. It is to be expected that the same myth, associated always with a western sea, should settle upon such an extreme point of the continent as the northern coast of Gaul, *extremum quâ pandit Gallia littus.* I have met with a legend

[36] "Gest. Long.," V, 32, 33.

closely analogous with the story of Procopius, among the natives of Brittany at the present day,[37] and the men of Cape Raz in Finisterre still call the bay below this point, the most westerly in France, "la baie des trépassés," the bay of the dead.[38]

The peculiar feature of Odysseus' case is that he is not a dead man who has come to Paradise, but a living man, the first who has made the journey. "Nor until now have we ever had dealing with other mortals." Many before him had reached the undiscovered country; but up till now no traveller had returned. Odysseus does return, and hence we have the Odyssey. He comes back in the ships of the Phæakians, which, like Hermes previously, reverse their usual office for his sake. They have generally carried souls from the cities and ways of men; now they are about to bear the hero back in one night over the Death Sea. Entering a black ship, *νηὶ μελαίνῃ*,[39] he falls asleep. "And there as he lay, anon deep sleep weighed down his eyelids, a sweet unwakeful sleep most like to death." And as in the morning Hermes had long before, when he was in Kalypso's Island, come to him with a message of life, so now he wakes to find himself once again upon the familiar coast. "Then as arose the one bright star, the messenger of dawn, the ship touched the shore of Ithaca."[40]

Dante did not accept the Greek story of Odysseus' return. In the twenty-sixth Canto it is that the poet meets Ulisses, and learns from him the narrative of

[37] Macquoid, "Pictures and Legends in Normandy and Brittany."
[38] Cambry "Voyage dans la Finisterre."
[39] "Od." VIII, 405.
[40] "Od." XIII, 74.

his death. The same motive influenced this Ulisses—and this is most interesting—to venture into the Atlantic, which doubtless Dante knew had influenced many sailors of his own time—the hope to find a new land away in the West. "When I left Circe," the much-enduring Greek says, "when I left Circe, who held me a year or more near Gaëta—before Æneas had given that place its name—neither my fondness for my son, nor piety towards my aged father, nor the love with which I should have lightened the heart of Penelope, could conquer the strong desire which swayed me to gain knowledge of the world and of human wickedness and worth. So I set forth upon the open sea with that small band by whom I had never been deserted. One shore and the other I saw, as far as Spain and Morocco, and the Island of Sardinia, and other islands which the sea washes round. I and my companions were old and slow when we gained the narrow strait where Hercules has set up his sign-posts, that men should not venture beyond. On the right I passed Seville, I had already passed Ceuta on the left. 'Oh! my brothers,' I cried, 'who through a hundred thousand dangers have reached the West, refuse not to this brief vigil of your senses which is left, the knowledge of the unpeopled world beyond the sun. Consider your descent; ye were not made to live the life of brutes, but to follow virtue and knowledge.' I made my comrades with this short speech so eager for the voyage, that had I wished it I could scarce have held them back, and turning our backs upon the morning and bearing always towards the left we made our oars wings for our foolish flight. Night showed us

already the other pole and all its stars, and our pole so low that it did not rise above the ocean floor. Five times relit and quenched as often had been the light which the moon sheds below, since we entered on the steep way, when there appeared before us a mountain, dim with distance, which seemed so high as I had never seen mountain before. We rejoiced; but our joy was soon turned to grieving, for from the land came a tempest which struck the forepart of our vessel. Thrice it whirled her round with all its waters, and the fourth time the poop rose up and the prow turned downwards—such was the will of God—and the sea closed over us."

Dante, we see, had no sympathy with the hopes of those who sought the Earthly Paradise in the West. He calls it "the unpeopled land beyond the sun"; for he was upon the side of orthodoxy, and in his confession of Ulisses doubtless meant to cast reproach upon those obstinate ones, who, against the teaching of Scripture, still hoped to find a place where they could avoid death. The mountain which he places in the Atlantic, the high mountain, *bruna per la distanza*, which Ulisses sees, is the mountain of Purgatory; other land he recognises none there. But he bears witness to the belief that the West was not unpeopled; how without such a belief could the Traveller have been urged to seek the West by a desire of knowing more of human wickedness and worth.

The story which at this time was most influential in sending men upon Ulissean voyages was probably that to which allusion has been already made, the legend of St. Brandan. The myth seems in its origin

to have been a Celtic one,[41] for St. Brandan was an Irish monk, who, hearing from a traveller of the Paradise in the East, set sail with twelve of his monks, and after a long probation was brought to the happy place. St. Brandan's Paradise became a sporadic growth, now placed among the Canaries, now visible at certain seasons from the west coast of Ireland. And it is not very easy to tell which among all the places visited by the saint was fixed upon in popular tradition as St. Brandan's Island; for while the land to which he comes at last is not an island at all, the places which the saint meets upon his journey are like a succession of Paradises, each having some of the attributes of the Earthly Paradise of the Greeks. One is the "Ylonde of Shepe"—we think of Odysseus' in Sicily—"where is never cold weder, but ever sommer, and that causeth the shepe to be so grete and white;" another island contains an abbey of twenty-four monks, "and in this londe," the monks tell St. Brandon, "is ever fayre weder, and none of us hath been seke syth we came hyther." But I take the following to be one of the best descriptions of an Earthly Paradise to be found in middle-age romance. It is the Paradise of Birds:

"But soone after, as God wold, they saw a fayre ylonde, full of floures and herbes and trees, whereof they thanked God of his good grace, and anone they went inlonde. And when they had gone longe in this, they founde a full fayre well and thereby stode a tree full of bowes, and on every bow sate a fayre

[41] The name Brandan is probably allied to Bran, the Celtic hero—and sun-god? For him, see Matthew Arnold, "Celt. Lit." The word means chief or head: it is the same as Brennus.

byrde, and they sate so thicke on the tree that unneath ony lefe of the tree might be seen, the nombre of them was so grete, and they sange so meryly that it was an heavenly noyse to hear. . . . . And than anone one of the byrdes fledde fro the tree to Saynt Brandon, and he, with flickeringe of his wings made a full merye noyse lyke a fydle, that the saynt he herde never so joyfull a melodye. And than Saynt Brandon commaunded the byrde to tell him the cause why they sate so thycke on the tree and sange so meryly. And than the byrde sayd, 'Sometime we were aungels in heven, but whan our mayster Lucyfer fell down into hell for his high pryde, we fell with hym for our offences, some hyther and some lower, after the qualité of their trespace."[42]

This might be a fall from heaven, but it was a rise from earth. A place suited to the character of any who were, like these angels, of a temporising nature. For such the Earthly Paradise existed, for it was the creation of their own brain. They did not judge themselves so severely as Dante does. He, too, shows us the same angels who fell "for no great trespace," but he calls them—

Il cattivo coro,
Degli angeli—

"The caitiff choir of angels, who were neither rebellious nor faithful to God, but were for themselves"—

A Dio spiacenti et a nemici sui,

"Hateful to God and to his enemies." . . . . Were that our present concern I could, I think, show

[42] "The Legend of St. Brandon," Percy Soc. Trs., Vol. XIV.

that Purgatory is nothing else than a survival of the Greek Hades or Norse Helheim into the creed of Christendom, to the mind of which the terrors of the heathen place of punishment seemed to offer but an inadequate representation of Hell. Just so the probationary Paradise of Birds is the truer survival of the heathen heaven than the Eastern Paradise to which Saint Brandon at last attains.

This legend I take to be one of the lingering footprints of a past Celtic mythology; other traces of it in this matter of the Earthly Paradise and the Sea of Death are those stories which we gathered from Procopius and Claudian of a journey by souls from the west of France over sea to our island.[43] It is fortunate that though the Celtic mythology is lost to us, so much can be gleaned therefrom. The same notion survives again in the account of the last days of Arthur, though it is pitched rather in a tragic than a hopeful key. The battle where he is wounded is—according to Malory—on the downs beside Salisbury, not far from the sea-side; and at the end Arthur tells Sir Belvidere to carry him down to the water's edge, and there it is that he is met by the barge bearing the "many faire ladyes." They wept and shrieked when they saw the king. "Oh, dear brother," said the queen, "why have ye taried so long from me? Alas! this wound on your head hath taken over much cold."[44] Oger le Danois is a more cheerful tale; but evidently drawn straight from the legend of Arthur, albeit the hero is a

[43] The same belief remained in middle-age Germany, and was associated with the name England which was read Engel-land.

[44] Sir T. Malory, *Mort d'Arthure*, c. 168.

Teuton and not a Celt. The Paradise is the same that Arthur goes to, Avalon, the "Isle of Apples."[45]

> And for the love and country thou hast won;
> Know thou that thou art come to Avalon,
> That is both thine and mine; and as for me
> Morgan le Fay men call me commonly,
> Within the world; but fairer names than this,
> Have I for thee and me, 'twixt kiss and kiss.[46]

And in the old French romance Oger le Dannoys —rendered into prose from a poem of the 13th century[47]—we read :—

"Tant nagea le basteau sur mer qu'il arriva près le chasteau d'Aymant qu'on nomme le chasteau Daualon qui nest guerre par deça Paradis Terrestre, la ou furent raui en une raye de feu Helye et Enoch, et la ou estait Morgue la Faie, qui à sa naissance lui auvoyent donné de grans dons."

And Morgue says to the Paladin :

"Es vous y laisse vos vaillances en guerre a prendre vous soulas avec les dames; or puis je vous tiens par deça je vous meneray a Aualon, la vous verrey la plus belle noblesse du monde."

So much for the Earthly Paradise of Celtic mythology.

As we get farther to the North, whether it be owing to the gloomy character of the people or the greater inclemency of northern seas, the bright side

[45] A Celtic, not Teuton word. We cannot help comparing this land of apples with the gardens of the Hesperidæ.

[46] "The Earthly Paradise." Ogier the Dane.

[47] The prose version of Oger le Dannoys is taken from the metrical version of Adenez, chief minstrel at the court of Henry III of Bavaria (1248–1261), and for his pre-eminence in his art, surnamed le Roy, or king of all. The best of his poems which have come down to us is the "Cleomenes," the origin of Chaucer's unfinished "Squire's Tale."

of the myth of death tends to disappear. But the primitive idea of the Sea of Death remains in all its force. The Norseman's picture of the earth and the sea surrounding it corresponds most literally with the Greek representation of Okeanos flowing round the habitable earth, and the entrance to Hades lying upon its other shore. In the middle of the world, so we learn in the Eddas, stands a high mountain on which is the city Asgaard, the strong place of the gods. Below lies the green and fruitful earth *mannheim*, the home of men; outside this flows or extends the mid-earth ocean. At times this sea is personified as a devouring monster, the mid-gaard worm Jörmungandr, whose moving makes the firm earth shake: he is brother to Hel, the goddess of Death. Beyond the mid-gaard sea is Jötunheim, giants' home, dark as the Kimmerian land, and peopled with monsters weird and terrible as the Kyklops or the Gorgons.[48] Jötunheim, then, and all the race of giants are associated with the kingdoms of death; not very clearly perhaps, but then no more is it clearly shown in the Odyssey, how the entrance to Hades lies far away beyond Okeanos, though Hades is beneath the earth on which we stand. In either case the connection between the western land and the underground kingdom is understandable enough if we are ready to make some allowance for the shifting lights of mythology.

North legend has preserved in its purest form the great original sun-myth out of which all subsequent images of death and a future state

[48] "Edda Snorra" Dæmisögur, 8, 10, 16, 33, 34, 51. "Völuspa," 19, 32, 33, 42, &c. Cf. Simrock "Handb. der deut. Myth.," § 118.

do in a manner take their rise: we have seen what was the nature of the connection between them. The story which follows the course of the sun sinking behind the western sea, is reproduced in the beautiful myth of the Burning of Baldur. The tale tells how, when the brightest best-beloved god of Asgaard fell down, shot through the heart by his blind brother Hödur (dark), all the gods assembled to do honour to his funeral and to prepare his pyre. They took his own favourite ship Hringhorn—the largest in the world—and laid upon it much wood and fine clothing and armour, and Baldur's horse, and last of all the body of Baldur himself. And when Nanna his wife saw it, her heart brake with grief, and she too was placed upon the pile. Then Thor hallowed it with his hammer, and setting fire to the ship they pushed it out to sea.[49] Thence it drifted, burning, into the west; the true image of a burning sunset. To be complete the story should tell how Baldur reawoke in a new Heaven. But the Teutons had a great love of tragedy; so we find that the god has not reached any islands of the blessed, but only the land of Hades, Helheim. Whether there was not at one time a myth of Paradise connected with this myth of death, I am much inclined to doubt. The funeral here bestowed on Baldur was much coveted by Norse heroes and Vikings, and one which they often received. I cannot but believe that they deemed they would in this way go to join the sun-god in some far-off happy land. In truth I am wrong in saying that there is no trace in the Eddas

[49] "Edda Snorra" Dæmisaga, 49.

that Baldur has gone not to Helheim, but to Paradise. For in one poem—the finest of all—we are told how long hence when the other gods have died in a battle with the giants and all the powers of death, then a new earth will arise from ocean, a new and deathless race of men will be placed upon it, and thither Baldur shall return to reign over this renovated world.[50] Can we fail to see in this the likeness on the one hand to the myths of Arthur or of Ogier returning from Paradise, on the other to the story of fair-haired Rhadamanthus reigning in the islands of the blessed?

And one thing more let us notice before we bring our investigation to a close; namely, that the German mythology—or at least the middle-age folk-lore of Germany proper—is very full of the myths of heroes who have come from some unknown land and are first found asleep in a boat upon the shore in the country of their adoption. Sometimes they come as children, sometimes as fully equipped knights: no one knows whence they have sprung, except themselves perhaps, and they are generally, like Lohengrin, forbidden to tell. But we know. They have come from the Earthly Paradise. There is Scef or Skeaf, who appears in English, Danish, and Lombardic tradition as coming to the land a new-born child, lying in a skiff, girt round with treasures, and wafted thither by the winds. He grows to be a great hero and *stamm-vater*, founder of a famous line; and at his death (or before it; the tradition varies) he is carried down to the same ship, placed in it and once again entrusted to the waves. Lohengrin is

[50] "Völuspa," 60.

only one of the countless German tales which repeat this ancient legend; now it is a knight drawn by fairy hands, now a saint who is borne by miraculous powers up the Rhine until his body finds a proper resting place.[51]

It is a strange fact too that in the North even burials—not burnings only—took place in a ship; for the coffin was made in the form of one.[52] Therefore the idea of the voyage of the soul must be counted more primitive than the separation of the two modes of interment.

In this brief glance over the beliefs of Heathen Europe we have been able to gather from almost every land traces of a great and ancient myth concerning the future of the soul after death. So widespread is it, and so ancient, that we judge it to be Indo-European, that is to say, to have been born in the early cradle of the European races. The picture has, it is true, much faded from its original hues. Our task has been like that of tracing the design upon some long-neglected fresco. Here and there the colours may retain a part of their old brightness: more often they have left behind them nothing but faint lines, and we are enabled to get a notion of the original only by a careful, and even a tedious examination, by slowly piecing together a

[51] In Beowulf (89, &c.), Scyld is confused with Scéf. Ethelw. III, 3, and William of Malmesbury tell the story of the right person. For stories resembling that of Lohengrin, see Grimm "Deutsche Sagen," pp. 256, 276. St. Martin and St. Emmeranus are among those whose bodies were miraculously conveyed by water. Panzer "Bayarische Sagen u Bräuche," I, 222. Simrock "Handb. der D. Myth.," p. 285. Sigmund takes the body of Sinfiotli to the sea-shore and sets it afloat. Sæm. 170.

[52] Grimm "Deut. Myth.," II, 693, 4th Ed. "Jarlm. saga," c. 45.

multitude of disjointed fragments. As time passes on and middle-age thought, with its last relics of heathenism, fades before the advance of the new learning, this belief of the Earthly Paradise fades with it. Like the elves and fairies fleeing "from the presence of the sun," it flies round the globe to escape out of the way of inquiry and exact investigation. When the western lands of Europe are known too well, it crosses the Atlantic and for a while finds a home in the new world. At last it dies altogether out of the region of belief, and rises again in the world of fiction, as a New Atlantis, an Utopia. But Utopia is, alas, Ou-topos, the land of No-where.

C. F. KEARY.

THE RUBENS CENTENARY AND THE ANTWERP ART CONGRESS.

BY C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

(Read Jan. 8, 1879.)

WHEN the City of Antwerp resolved, for the second time within the same century, to celebrate a Festival in honour of her renowned citizen, Peter Paul Rubens, she threw herself into the work of rejoicing with an ardour that few great mercantile centres would display for such an object, and with a good taste that still fewer could rival.

The great secret of the success of the Rubens Festival and Art Congress of 1877 seems to me to have been that the Festival was everybody's Festival, and that all ranks of Antwerp Society, and even both the great parties which so sharply divide Belgian politics and Belgian society, united in showing their common respect for the memory of Rubens.

How strong a hold that memory has on the Belgian mind, nothing could more strikingly testify than this universality of celebration, which was so characteristic of the Centenary of 1877. That it should have been determined to make an Art Congress one of the leading features of the Festival will be accepted as most suitable to the occasion.

Its success was greatly due to the same widely diffused energy of which I have already spoken. Taken up heartily by the highest office-bearers in the municipality, under the honorary presidency of the overworked, but ever-courteous Burgomaster of Antwerp, M. Léopold de Wael, and the able chairmanship of the President of the Cercle Artistique, M. Edouard Pecher, the Antwerp Art Congress played a conspicuous part in the more serious features of the Rubens Centenary. Of the Belgian members it may be sufficient to say that some of the most distinguished had held and are now holding high place in the Councils of the Nation. M. De Wael, returned to the Chambers yet again as Deputy for Antwerp at the last elections, is one of the Vice-Presidents of the new Chamber, and M. Rolin-Jacquemyns, one of the Honorary Presidents of the Legislative Section, was at the same period returned for Ghent, and is holding the important Portfolio of the Interior, in the present Belgian Administration.

The effective President of the Legislative Section, M. Louis Hymans, of Brussels, had himself been a Member of the House of Representatives, and had been chosen by the House to report to it on the last attempt at Art Copyright Legislation, which had engaged the attention of the Chambers. As an author, M. Hymans is held in high esteem for his valuable History of the Belgian Parliament. Several, both of the native and foreign members of the Antwerp Art Congress, have since taken prominent positions in other International gatherings. M. Dognée, of Liège, was one of the most active members of the Legislative Section of the recent

International Literary Congress in Paris, of which I hope to give some account to this Society on another occasion, and he was at the same time one of the Commissioners for Belgium at the Paris Exhibition. M. Meissonnier, of the Institute, who naturally took a leading part in our discussions at Antwerp, has since presided over an International Art Copyright Congress in Paris. Others, among whom I may name Belgian, Swedish, German, and English members, the thoughtful and original Antwerp artist, Charles Verlat; the accomplished representative of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts at Stockholm, Count Von Rosen; the genial Kunst-Direktor Steffeck of Berlin; and one of our own familiar friends of Burlington House, the Academician Calderon, have been decorated by the French Government since the close of the International Exhibition. I have been thus particular in giving some account of the composition of the Antwerp Art Congress, in order that those of us who did not follow its proceedings at the time may form their judgment as to the general calibre of its members. And as I cannot attempt to carry you with me through all the manifold details of the discussions of even one Section, but must content myself with dwelling upon some of the more widely interesting general features of the Congress and Festival, I have been desirous that you should know thus much at least of who we were, before I proceeded to say something about what we did. If I commence by saying that we discussed Rubens from pretty nearly every possible point of view, and that we tried to get some light thrown upon every kind of influence

that he exercised over his contemporaries, and that his contemporaries exercised over him, I do not think I shall give you a bad general idea of what we tried to do. How far we succeeded is a question which, I think, cannot yet be fully answered, for the after-results of such discussions are slow in developing themselves, and the influence of the mere fact of such a gathering for such an object is not to be measured by the number or quality of the papers read, or opinions sustained. I incline to believe that the questions proposed on such occasions, and circulated throughout the length and breadth of the Literary and Artistic World, produce an effect in stimulating research and quickening thought of which the full power will only be known perhaps to after-times, when research shall have resulted in the acknowledgment of facts hitherto ignored, or in the setting of well-known facts in a new light, and when thought shall have been quickened into action. No one, I think, can study the heads of discussion proposed at Antwerp in 1877, without feeling that although on many points no satisfactory solution could be expected during the sittings of the Congress, much would be gained by the very clash of opinions, and still more by their full and temperate expression. Questions which to the British mind are apt to appear unpractical, may have, it seems to me, a very practical value in countries whose Parliamentary institutions are still in their infancy, but whose people prize the constitutional liberties which either they themselves, or their fathers, have not long won —when such a people discuss the influence of "Democracy in Art," Ancient Greece and Mediæval

Italy seem to enter the lists, and modern Belgium seems to be once more the "cockpit of Europe," but this time the strife, though keen, is conducted with the harmlessness of a tournament, where the object is to unhorse, not to slay the opposing knight.

It may serve as some illustration of the general character of the discussions on "questions brûlantes" of the day which entered into the programme of the Antwerp Congress, if I give a few extracts from the debates on the "Influence of Democracy in Art;" for here, if anywhere, was the rock upon which the Congress might be expected to split. I do not mean to deny that a greater amount of warmth characterised these sittings than some others in which the topics were less exciting, but it is, I think, only just to Belgium to state that the discussion was opened by an Antwerp Art-Professor, M. Van den Bussche, in very temperate language, and that one of the representatives of what might be called the Authoritative or Aristocratic, as opposed to the Democratic, Theory, Herr Schaepman, of Dribergen, admitted that if by Democracy was meant the whole people, in all the various manifestations of the national life, he was ready to acknowledge the influence of Democracy in Art. For "Art," he said, "springs from the people, and belongs to their whole life." Yet this was the language held by one who professed to believe that the Artist is "by nature Aristocratic, and inclined towards Authority." Let us listen for a moment to the words of a moderate exponent of the opposite view.

M. Van den Bussche, in his opening speech, gave a brief glance, very necessary to the true understand-

ing of the question under discussion, at the various meanings of the word Democracy. It were much to be wished that one of our most recent English writers on this thorny subject, Sir T. Erskine May, had always kept these various meanings in view in the course of his elaborate work on Democracy in Europe. Now it is evidently true, as M. Van den Bussche observed, that Democracy in the Ancient World was a different thing from Modern Democracy, and it is further true that Greek Democracy differed from that of Rome. Yet again, Mediæval Democracy differed alike from its predecessors and successors, and, in the present day, American Democracy is widely different from that which manifests itself on the Continent of Europe, under various forms which are the outcome of European Society and a European Past. According to the view of M. Van den Bussche, Art should be a Beacon, lighting the way of the Nations, and it ought therefore to guide Democracy, not to be guided by it. This may appear to some to be a compromise between the two views of Art ; if so, it is, at any rate to my mind, a compromise embodying, and not giving up, Truth. It is also perfectly reconcilable with the expressions of Dr. Schaepman ; for that which, in his view, springs from the people, and is an integral part of their life in all its various manifestations, is surely best fitted to be unto the people as a Beacon, lighting the way of the Nations. In this manner we may, I think, harmonise the seemingly conflicting theories upon the influence of Democracy in Art without giving up anything which is essential. And it seems to me that there was enough Truth on both sides for the members of the

Æsthetic Section of the Antwerp Congress to be able to separate, as they did, with their friendly feelings towards each other increased rather than diminished.

But it must not be supposed that the Congress only treated questions of Theory. Not to speak of the Legislative Section, which discussed the possibility of framing an International Art Copyright Law, and the basis of whose discussions was to my mind more practical than that adopted by some more recent Congresses, the labours of the Historical Section deserve our attention. The question before it being "what elements do we possess for a history of the works of Rubens?" the Section came to the conclusion that these elements, which were numerous, but scattered over Europe, ought to be brought together and published in a collective form, and edited by a Committee to be named by the communal authorities, under the appropriate title of "Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus." It is proposed that the volumes constituting this "Codex" should embrace all official and other material documents, registers, &c., illustrating the history of Rubens, as well as a complete collection of his correspondence, comprising letters addressed to him no less than those written by him; biographies, when founded on official documents, and drawn up not more than a century after his death; extracts from contemporary historians and chroniclers, and generally everything that may seem likely to throw a light upon the life and works of Rubens.

This is, it will be seen, both a comprehensive and a practical scheme. It is one which, in this Society at least, must meet with well-wishers, as offering the

promise of a substantive addition to the Literary History of Art, in the full story of a great Artist who was widely known and highly esteemed in England.

It is quite probable that not only our State Paper Office but also private collections may contain among their yet uncalendared stores some documents which ought to find a place in this proposed publication. And we may well believe that the town of Antwerp, which received its English visitors with such hearty as well as magnificent hospitality, would appreciate a return which should take the shape of assistance in the illustration of the history of her great citizen. I should, for my own part, gladly receive and transmit to Antwerp any information, whether from public or private sources, tending to aid the Antwerp Committee in making the "Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus" a work worthy of the occasion which gave rise to it. We may be quite sure that the city of the Plantin Press will do all honour to its Typographical no less than to its other Artistic memories. For in the wonderful procession which wound its way by torchlight as well as by sunlight through the picturesque streets of old Antwerp, and down the broad boulevards of modern Antwerp, the printing press of the famous house of Plantin had its place along with the principal works of Rubens. And with the Plantin-Moretus printing press, says a description of the Historical Procession, widely circulated during the Festival,[1] ends the representation of Intellectual Antwerp. Here endeth "Verlichte Antwerpen." The Maison Plantin itself, restored by the loving

[1] "Beschrijving van den Grooten Historischen Kunstoptocht," &c. Flemish and French. Antwerp, 1877. Printed by Mees and Co.

care of a special committee of the municipality, to a condition as nearly as possible reproducing the palmy days of the great Antwerp printers, formed the subject of a separate publication, by M. Gustave Lagye,[2] himself the editor of the principal Art Journal of Antwerp, "La Fédération Artistique." In this wonderful treasure-house, Art is represented under manifold forms, by Manuscripts, early products of the press, engravings and paintings of great Flemish Masters. The Album of the house of Moretus contains no less than three hundred designs by master hands, and among the contributors to its riches are found Van Noort, Van Orley, Rubens, and Van Dyck. As M. Lagye justly observes, this Album is a fortune in itself. And when the visitor enters the quadrangle and looks up at the mullioned windows, he knows that he is no longer in the Nineteenth Century, but among the men of the Renaissance, fitting symbols of which meet him at every corner in the Golden Compass of the House of Plantin, accompanied by their motto, "Labore et Constantia." The autograph letters in the Plantin collection are said to number more than eleven thousand. They show this illustrious family to have been in correspondence with some of the greatest names of their day in Literature, Science, and Art. Justus Lipsius, Baronius, Ortelius, Clusius, Bellarmine, Borromeo, Henschenius, the Blaeus and the Elzevirs—all have added to this rich store of inedited manuscripts. I am sorry to say that the contents of this collection do not appear to have been as yet completely catalogued. But I hope, from M.

[2] "La Maison Plantin," par Gastave Lagye. Antwerp. Mees and Co., 1877.

Lagye's language, that the learned Librarian of the Town Library at Ghent, M. Vanderhaegen, who seems to have gone through a large portion of the Plantin Letters, will finish his most useful labours, and give to the world a "Catalogus Epistolarum Plantiniensium," as a worthy pendent to the proposed "Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus." My necessarily briet and imperfect sketch of the Rubens Festival of 1877 would be still more imperfect than it is, were I not to lay before you some of the interesting eulogies passed on the great Flemish Master by the foreign representatives of the world of Art, who came to do his memory honour in his own city. Conspicuous among these must stand out the carefully weighed judgment of the veteran Charles Blanc, of the Institute of France, who standing by the newly unveiled Bust of Rubens[3] in the Hall of the Museum, spoke to this effect: "Like a musician showing his superiority alike in the invention of a theme, in its composition, in its rendering on the stage, and in its vocalisation, Rubens is at once an admirable composer and the most brilliant of virtuosi. One of the things most astonishing to the æsthetical sense is that the Low Countries, the most distant province of the Empire of Art, the farthest from its first home, should have seen the birth of the great painters who were to carry eloquence of colouring and chiar'oscuro to their highest pitch. Far from imitating the French Artists of the fifteenth century, who owed nothing to foreign influence, Rubens went abroad to seek

[3] This bust was from the chisel of the distinguished Antwerp sculptor, M. Jules Pecher, brother of the President of the Cercle Artistique and of the Art Congress.

inspiration and ideas. Had he never quitted his own country he would perhaps have been but another Jordaens. His travels gave breadth and loftiness to his genius. His journeyings in Italy and France, to Madrid and Windsor, his youth passed among the wits of the Court of Mantua, his diplomatic relations with the Grandees of Spain, with Marie de Médicis and with Charles I. made him pre-eminently the gentleman Artist (le gentilhomme de la peinture). It was through studying Titian and Veronese in Venice, and the Farnese Palace and Sixtine Chapel in Rome, that he seemed to see everything, even colouring, on a great scale. It is because Rubens never became simply local in his Art conceptions that he has given strangers a right to come and take part in a Festival to which his spirit of Universality seemed to invite them."

What Rubens found to study in Italy, and how he studied it, has been well told in an interesting Paper by M. Edgar Baes, which gained the prize of the Section for Fine Arts of the Royal Belgian Academy in 1877.[4] Had Rubens never gone to Italy, says M. Charles Blanc, he would probably have been but another Jordaens. Had Rubens never returned from Italy, says M. Baes, he would have become, in all probability, a Flemish Caracci. Happily, continues M. Baes, "Fate willed that he should remain Rubens." And, whatever may be our personal preferences for one school or one artist over another, I think we must agree with the Belgian historian of his rela-

[4] "Mémoires Couronnés et autres Mémoires publiés par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique." Tom. XXVIII. (Brussels, July, 1878.)

tions with Italy, and be glad that Rubens became neither a Jordaens nor a Caracci, but remained Rubens.

Time will not admit of my citing more of the arguments with which M. Edgar Baes enforces his views concerning the influence of Italian Art on Rubens and Van Dyck. What I have quoted may suffice to show his general conclusions as to the independent attitude of Rubens towards the Art of his day in the cradle and home of all Western Art.

It is a far cry from Belgium to Sweden. But as some token of the appreciation in distant lands of that spirit of Universality which M. Charles Blanc found in Rubens, I may cite a few of the words spoken by the Delegate of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts at Stockholm. "Every Swede," said Count von Rosen, "who has learned to read has also learned to venerate the name of Rubens, and to know something of his titles to renown, if only in the shape of the ten or twelve masterpieces which we are proud to possess from the brush of an Artist who was the living embodiment of the Art of an epoch at once brilliant and militant, and whose name is one of the privileged band of names that light up the darkness of the ages."

If the good people of Antwerp ever doubted whether the merits of their great Artist were properly recognised throughout Europe, they must have been amply satisfied with the "Hulde an Rubens" which so many countries vied with each other in bringing as their offering to the Festival of 1877.

Rhetoric paid its tribute in the language which I have cited, and in much more which I have not

space to cite. Painting, Engraving, Photography, contributed their share in the interesting specimens of Rubens and other Masters, and reproductions of the works of Rubens in the Galleries of Germany, Italy, Spain and other countries, gathered together in Antwerp during the Festival. That Music, too, had her part, and that no unimportant one, in the glorification of Rubens, is a fact which I must not omit to commemorate. And, indeed, those who looked upon the vast throng filling the picturesque Place Verte, and heard the rhythmic rising and falling of the strophes of the Rubens Cantata composed by Pierre Benoit,[5] are not likely to forget the part that Music played in the Rubens Centenary of 1877. In this Cantata there came before us in turns the "lonely pine-tree in the cold North land," and the "Palm-tree 'mid the burning sands of the Morning-land," for in each and every one of these lands, Art has scattered her peace-bringing blessings broadcast. Therefore Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, America, all took part in the March of the Nations; all brought their "Hulde an Rubens." And these all united in the song of the Peoples of the Earth, singing with varying words ever the same song, "Oh Belgium, hold fast thy Freedom and thine Art." I conclude in M. de Geyter's own stirring words:—

"Que l'homme soit libre, là où il erre, là où il demeure!
Libre, comme là où murmure l'Escaut!

* * * * * *

Grand, comme là où l'Escaut poursuit son cours!

* * * * * *

[5] "La Cantate-Rubens." Paroles de J. De Geyter, Musique de Pierre Benoit. Antwerp: Mees and Co., 1877.

Liberté et Science, l'art vous couronne !
Que l'art habite les chaumières et brille sur les trônes !
De la lumière pour l'esprit et de l'air pour le cœur !
Des joies plus douces et des douleurs moins amères !
De l'art nourri à la forte nature, de l'art qui crée et qui enflamme !
De l'art comme là où l'Escaut roule ses ondes !"

ON THE HISTORY, SYSTEM, AND VARIETIES OF TURKISH POETRY.

ILLUSTRATED BY SELECTIONS IN THE ORIGINAL, AND IN ENGLISH PARAPHRASE, WITH A NOTICE OF THE ISLAMIC DOCTRINE OF THE IMMORTALITY OF WOMAN'S SOUL IN THE FUTURE STATE.

BY J. W. REDHOUSE, ESQ., M.R.A.S., HON. M.R.S.L., &C.

(Read February 12th, 1879.)

THE "Pleasures of Imagination" are the inheritance of the whole human race, barbarous or civilized. None are so untutored as not to indulge in reverie. By some authors, poetry has been said to be the elder sister of prose.

Europe has long been aware that the poets of Greece and Rome were not the first on earth to versify their thoughts.

Classical culture, however, to the virtual exclusion of almost every other branch of study from our schools, colleges, and universities for a long course of centuries, trained the mind of modern Europe, notwithstanding national and linguistical divergences, into a single system of poetical conception; and hence, the poetry of every modern European people is cast in one unvarying fundamental mould; makes use of the same imagery; repeats, in spite of the profession of Christianity, the same old pagan myths;

and follows the same methods of rhymes and metres. Consequently, the barriers of idiom and grammar once surmounted, an English reader, for example, has generally no difficulty in understanding the poets of France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Scandinavia, or even Russia.

When Sir Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones, nearly a century back, first opened the eyes of the West to the existence of Sanscrit poetry, it was found that Greece had not been the teacher of the whole world in what, for want of a more appropriate term, we are constrained to speak of as the *belles lettres*. But it was also seen that a not very remote community of race between the authors of the Vedas, &c., and the writer or writers of the Iliad, &c., had had, as one effect, the natural consequence, that, on the whole, the ideas and methods of the two branches, eastern and western, of inditing verse, were not so radically different as to create for European students any great difficulty in understanding and admiring the productions of those hitherto unknown Eastern cousins, who, beginning with allusions and metaphors drawn from regions of ice and snow, ended in descriptions of tropical scenery and practices.

The study of Hebrew had already revealed, in some of the books of the Old Testament, a style of poetry very different, in form and matter, from what had come down from the pagan authors of Greece and Rome. Leaving out the form, such portions of the matter of those books as were found appropriate have been, more or less, turned to account, and incorporated in modern European litera-

ture, sacred and profane. But those materials are too scant, and their students too few, besides that these are already ineradicably tinged with the ideas and methods of Greece and Rome, for any notable impression to have been stamped on recent secular verse through this slight intermixture.

Arabian poetry has been studied with success for several centuries; especially in its more archaic and pagan stages. A certain celebrity has thus been given to it in Europe, as one branch of the fruits of mental activity shown by the primitive followers of Islām and their more immediate forefathers. The Mu'allaqāt (*Suspended Poems*, though the actual meaning of the term is a subject of doubt), the Hamāsa (*Odes on Courage, &c.*), and the Agāni (*Songs*), are the best known; others have, however, been noticed by Western scholars.

Persian poetry has also been, to a certain very limited extent, examined by European students. The Shāhnāma (*Book of Kings*) of Firdawsī,—an immense mythical history of Persia from soon after the Deluge to the advent of Islām, in between fifty and sixty thousand couplets, the prose and poetical writings of Sa'dī, and the Odes of Hāfiz, are those most quoted. These authors died, respectively, in A.D. 1020, 1292, and 1395. The first is an epic, the second a didactic, and the third an outwardly bacchanalian or anacreontic, but inwardly a religious mystic, whose writings must be interpreted as our Song of Solomon. Every word in the Odes of Hāfiz has a deep, recondite, inner meaning, the natural parallels being systematically kept up between the details of the inward and spiritual with those of the

outward and visible, as to things and actions. To understand this poet fully, therefore, a complete insight into the mysteries of dervish-doctrine, Sufiism—mysticism, as it is commonly called—must be possessed by the inquirer. Of this doctrine, a spiritual union of man with his Maker, through man's love for God, is the central idea, about which all others grow and cluster. The Dervishes may be considered a sort of Freemasons of Islām.

The Turks, the Ottoman Turks, the Turkish-speaking and Turkish-writing Muslim Ottomans, who have so vexed the soul of all Europe for the last six centuries, who have for the last fifty years been themselves rapidly becoming Europeanized in general education, as in laws, naval and military science, and industrial enterprise; but who, with no fault of their own, have been so much misunderstood and misrepresented of late by political hypocrisy, religious bigotry, and classical bias, have been at all times as successful in the poetical and literary lines as they have been great in war and politics. Notices have not been wanting in European writers, from time to time, of the fact that poetry and literature were and are successfully cultivated by the Ottoman Turks. Their talents have frequently been spoken of in terms of very high praise; and specimens have been given, with translations of some of their poets. Von Hammer,[1] in particular, has published in German a special work in six volumes, with extracts from more than two thousand of them; and again, in his history of the Ottoman Empire, mentions at the end of

[1] "Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, &c., with translated extracts from 2,200 Poets." Pesth, 1826–31.

every reign the most conspicuous sons of verse of the period, among whom the deceased Sultan himself has frequently been included. Several of these sovereigns have been poets of the highest class; as, for instance, Sultan Selim I, the conqueror of Syria and Egypt, in A.D. 1517, the first Caliph-Sultan. His father, Bāyezīd II, his grandfather, Muhammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople in A.D. 1453, and the highly talented and noble-minded, but misguided, rebel prince Jem, brother of Bāyezīd, and poisoned by the pope Alexander Borgia, were poets also; and, perhaps, of no less merit. The gift has not departed from the Imperial line. Mahmūd II was a poet, and bore the literary pseudonym — *nom de plume* — of 'Adlī. His youngest son, the late Sultan 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz, possessed the lyric vein, and wrote an autographic impromptu in Turkish verse in Her Majesty's album on board the royal yacht at Spithead, on the occasion of the naval review held there in his honour in 1867. The friend who related the incident, and had read the verses after they were written, could not remember, in their entirety, the exact words recorded. The sense of their conclusion, as furnished at the time, was simply this: "As a memento have I inscribed my name in this book."

His Imperial Majesty's talented Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fu'ād Pasha, who was in the suite of his Sovereign during that journey, was a poet of distinction, as was also his father, 'Izzet Molla, one of the Vice-Chancellors of the Empire in the time of Sultan Mahmūd. At some time during the calamitous days of the Greek insurrection, before the epoch of the destruction of the Janissaries, Navarino, and

the Russian War that led to the treaty of Adrianople —namely, at about the date when the Prince, afterwards the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Majīd was born, in 1823 or 1824—'Izzet Molla had incurred the displeasure of a powerful colleague, and had been banished from Constantinople to the town of Keshān, situated between Rodosto and the Lower Maritza. At his death, a poem of about seven thousand couplets, and entitled, according as its name, مِحْنَتْكَشَانْ, may be read or understood, "The Suffering One," "The Sufferers," or "The Sufferings of Keshān," was found among his papers, and was published by his grandson, Nāzim Bey, son of Fu'ād Pasha. From this poem, which contains the chronogram of the birth of Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Majīd, A.H. 1238, a few selections are given among the paraphrases that illustrate this paper. Another Turkish impromptu, here given also—No. 12 of the series—was composed by Fu'ād Pasha himself, and written by him in the album of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The delicacy of appreciation and refinement of epigrammatic expression contained in this poetic gem can hardly be surpassed.

The tender pathos of the "Elegy on a Lady," by Fāzil, found among the paraphrases—No. 2 of the series—is of so sweetly graceful a character, that few such productions are to be hoped for in any language, ancient or modern. Its address to the "Trusted Seraph," the archangel Gabriel, to "welcome her with smiles," is in itself a sufficient refutation to the erroneous idea so current in most European circles, and pointedly repeated in an address[2]

[2] "The Gospel in the Ottoman Empire." A Paper read at the Meet-

read on the 2nd of October last, at Milwaukee, to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to the effect that "the faith of Islām teaches its followers that woman does not possess a soul." Sale, in a paragraph of the fourth section in the preliminary discourse to his translation of the Qur'ān,[3] has long since shown this notion to be false, and has referred to a series of texts in that book to prove his assertion. It would be nothing less than infamous, wilfully to make such unfounded statements with a guilty knowledge of their falsity; it is still a sin and a crime to spread them abroad thoughtlessly, wrongfully, mischievously, in ignorance of their erroneous nature. The following passages from the "Qur'ān" are conclusive on the subject:—

وَعد الله المنافِقِين وَ المنافِقاتِ وَ الكفار نار جهنم خالِدِين فِيها

"God hath promised to the hypocrites and hypocritesses and to the blasphemers, the fire of hell, wherein they shall be for ever." (Chap. ix, v. 69.)

وَعد الله المؤمِنِين وَ المؤمِناتِ جناتٍ تجرِى مِن تحتِها الانهار خالِدِين فِيها

"God hath promised to the believers and believeresses, gardens through which rivers flow; wherein they shall be for ever." (Chap. ix, v. 73.)

ing of the A.B.C.F.M., at Milwaukee, October 2nd, 1878. By Rev. N. G. Clark, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the Board. Cambridge: Printed at the Riverside Press, 1878. (See p. 8, par. 3.)

[3] The Chandos Classics. "The Koran," &c., by George Sale. (See p. 80, l. 11.) Unfortunately, the verses in the Chapters had not then been numbered. Reference is, therefore, next to impossible. For this reason I give the original, with chapter and verse in each case.

أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمْ عُقْبَى الدَّارِ جَنَّاتُ عَدْنٍ يَدْخُلُونَهَا وَمَنْ صَلَحَ مِنْ آبَائِهِمْ وَأَزْوَاجِهِمْ وَذُرِّيَّاتِهِمْ

"These are they who shall have the perpetuity of the mansion, the gardens of Eden, which they shall enter, and they who have been righteous from among their fathers, and their wives, and their offspring." (Chap. xiii, v. 22-23.)

إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ وَالْقَانِتِينَ وَالْقَانِتَاتِ وَالصَّادِقِينَ وَالصَّادِقَاتِ وَالصَّابِرِينَ وَالصَّابِرَاتِ وَالْخَاشِعِينَ وَالْخَاشِعَاتِ وَالْمُتَصَدِّقِينَ وَالْمُتَصَدِّقَاتِ وَالصَّائِمِينَ وَالصَّائِمَاتِ وَالْحَافِظِينَ فُرُوجَهُمْ وَالْحَافِظَاتِ وَالذَّاكِرِينَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا وَالذَّاكِرَاتِ أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ مَغْفِرَةً وَأَجْرًا عَظِيمًا

"Verily for the believers and believeresses, the faithful men and faithful women, the devout men and devout women, the veracious men and veracious women, the patient men and patient women, the meek men and meek women, the almsgiving men and almsgiving women, the fasting men and fasting women, they who preserve custody over their secret parts, men and women, the frequent invokers of God, men and women, hath God prepared forgiveness and a great reward." (Chap. xxxiii, v. 35.)

هُمْ وَأَزْوَاجُهُمْ فِي ظِلَالٍ عَلَى الْأَرَائِكِ مُتَّكِئُونَ

"They and their wives, in shady places, reclining on couches." (Chap. xxxvi, v. 56.)

ادْخُلُوا الْجَنَّةَ أَنْتُمْ وَأَزْوَاجُكُمْ تُحْبَرُونَ

"Enter into paradise, ye and your wives; you shall be gladdened." (Chap. xliii, v. 70.)

لِيُدْخِلَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا

"That He may cause the men who have faith, and the women who have faith, to enter into gardens through which the rivers flow, to be therein for ever." (Chap. xlviii, v. 5.)

وَ يُعَذِّبَ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَ الْمُنَافِقَاتِ وَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَ الْمُشْرِكَاتِ
الظَّالِمِينَ بِاللَّهِ ظَنَّ السَّوْءِ

"And that He may inflict torment on the hypocrites and hypocritesses, on the men and women who attribute partners unto God, the unjust towards God in their wicked imagination." (Chap. xlviii, v. 6.)

يَوْمَ تَرَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ يَسْعَى نُورُهُمْ بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَ بِأَيْمَانِهِمْ
بُشْرَاكُمُ الْيَوْمَ جَنَّاتٌ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا

"On a day when thou shalt behold the believers and believeresses, whose light shall go before them, and on their right hand (*the salutation unto them shall be*): Your glad tidings this day (*is*): Gardens through which rivers flow, to be therein for ever." (Chap. lvii, v. 12.)

ضَرَبَ اللَّهُ مَثَلًا لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا امْرَأَةَ نُوحٍ وَ امْرَأَةَ لُوطٍ كَانَتَا تَحْتَ
عَبْدَيْنِ مِنْ عِبَادِنَا صَالِحَيْنِ فَخَانَتَاهُمَا فَلَمْ يُغْنِيَا عَنْهُمَا مِنَ اللَّهِ
شَيْئًا وَ قِيلَ ادْخُلَا النَّارَ مَعَ الدَّاخِلِينَ

"God hath offered, as a parable for them who blaspheme, the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot, which two women where wedded to two righteous men, servants from among our servants, towards whom they were disobedient, so that the two men were of no avail for them with God: and it was said: Enter you two into hell-fire, with them who enter." (Chap. lxvi, v. 10.)

سَيَصْلَى نَارًا ذَاتَ لَهَبٍ وَ امْرَأَتُهُ حَمَّالَةَ الْحَطَبِ فِي جِيدِهَا
حَبْلٌ مِنْ مَسَدٍ

"He shall roast in a flaming fire, and his wife shall be the carrier of its firewood, with a rope of palm-fibre round her neck." (Chap. cxi, v. 3-5.)

Another passage of the Qur'ān, not so explicit in words, but equally decisive in sense, is found in the 11th and 12th verses of the 66th chapter, already mentioned, which are as follows :—

وَ ضَرَبَ ٱللَّهُ مَثَلًا لِّلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ٱمرَأَةَ فِرعَونَ إِذ قَالَت رَبِّ ٱبنِ
لِي عِندَكَ بَيتًا فِي ٱلجَنَّةِ وَ نَجِّنِي مِن فِرعَونَ وَ عَمَلِهِ وَ نَجِّنِي
مِنَ ٱلقَومِ ٱلظَّالِمِينَ * وَ مَريَمَ ٱبنَتَ عِمرَانَ ٱلَّتِي أَحصَنَت فَرجَهَا
وَ نَفَخنَا فِيهِ مِن رُّوحِنَا وَ صَدَّقَت بِكَلِمَاتِ رَبِّهَا وَ كُتُبِهِ وَ كَانَت
مِنَ ٱلقَانِتِينَ

"God hath also propounded, as an example of those who have believed, the woman of Pharaoh; for she said: My Lord build Thou for me a chamber by thee in paradise, and deliver Thou me from Pharaoh and his works, and deliver Thou me from the unjust people; and also Mary,[4] the daughter of 'Imrān, who kept herself a chaste virgin, and into whose womb We breathed of our spirit, who held for true the words of her Lord, and His scriptures, and who was one of the devout."

Apostolic tradition, as related concerning the sayings and doings of Muhammad by his personal disciples, and handed down by successions of trusted witnesses, is equally strong on this subject, and is second in authority, with Muslims, only to the Qur'ān itself. For instance, he is thus reported to have informed his followers, as points of incontestable knowledge divinely revealed to him, that

[4] The Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus.

certain of his deceased friends, about a dozen in number at different times, had already been rewarded for their earthly virtues by admission into the joys of heaven. Among these was his first wife, the faithful and devoted Khadīja, his first convert, of whom he is related to have declared :

أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أُبَشِّرَ خَدِيجَةَ بِبَيْتٍ مِنْ قَصَبٍ لَا صَخَبَ فِيهِ وَلَا نَصَبَ

"I have been commanded to gladden Khadīja with the good tidings of a chamber of hollow pearl, in which is no clamour and no fatigue."[s]

An apostolic injunction, similarly reported, and regularly carried out as a constant practice in the divine worship of Islām, repeated five times daily, at least, as an incumbent duty, is that, on the conclusion of the prescribed form of service, each worshipper, male or female, shall offer up a voluntary prayer, a collect, for the forgiveness of the sins of the supplicant, and of his or her "two parents." This is the more remarkable, since Muhammad is reported to have declared himself expressly forbidden to pray for his own parents, they having died pagans in his childhood. He wept over his mother's grave on visiting it in his old age, but he was inhibited from praying for God's mercy on her.

Noah and Abraham are mentioned in the Qur'ān (xiv, 42, and lxxi, 29) as having so prayed for their "two parents."

Another institution of Muhammad, continued to this day, is the solemn address or sermon named

[s] Wustenfeld's "Ibnu-Hishām," Vol. I, p. 156, l. 2–3.

Khutba,[6] اَلْخُطْبَة and pronounced every Friday at noon, in two parts, after the congregational service, in every cathedral mosque, by a special functionary (there are no "*priests*" in Islām), thence called Khatīb, اَلْخَطِيب. In the second part of this address, a special clause is always inserted, praying for the bestowal of the divine mercy and grace on Fātima (Muhammad's daughter, his only child that survived him), on his two first wives, Khadīja and 'A'isha, (all three by name), on all his other wives (without mention of their names), and on "all resigned and believing women, living or dead."

In imitation of these two practices, it is a very general custom for authors and copyists, Muslims, on completing a work, to add a colophon, in which they praise God for the mercy, and offer a prayer for the pardon of their sins, with the extension of mercy and grace to them in the life to come, and to "both their parents." To this is sometimes added: "also to my elders, to my brethren in God (whose name be glorified), to all resigned men (muslimīn) and resigned women (muslimāt), to all believing men (mu'minīn), and believing women (mu'mināt), living or dead; Amen;" thus:[7]

غَفَرَ اللّٰهُ لِي وَ لِوَالِدَيَّ وَ لِمَشَائِخِي وَ لِإِخْوَانِي فِي اللّٰهِ تَعَالَى وَ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ وَ الْمُسْلِمَاتِ وَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ الْأَحْيَاءِ مِنْهُمْ وَ الْأَمْوَاتِ آمِين

The following is a paragraph from the Burial

[6] Lane's "Modern Egyptians;" London, 1860, p. 89, l. 1–7.

[7] From an old manuscript in my possession.

Service of Islām, as recited over every adult female on interment:[8]

اَللّٰهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لِحَيِّنَا وَ مَيِّتِنَا وَ شَاهِدِنَا وَ غَائِبِنَا وَ صَغِيرِنَا وَ كَبِيرِنَا
وَ ذَكَرِنَا وَ أُنَاثِنَا اَللّٰهُمَّ مَنْ أَحْيَيْتَهُ مِنَّا فَأَحْيِهِ عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ
وَ مَنْ تَوَفَّيْتَهُ مِنَّا فَتَوَفَّهُ عَلَى الْإِيمَانِ وَ خُصَّ هٰذِهِ الْمَيِّتَةَ بِالرَّوْحِ
وَ الرَّاحَةِ وَ الْمَغْفِرَةِ وَ الرِّضْوَانِ اَللّٰهُمَّ إِنْ كَانَتْ مُحْسِنَةً فَزِدْ فِي
إِحْسَانِهَا وَ إِنْ كَانَتْ مُسِيئَةً فَتَجَاوَزْ عَنْهَا وَ لَقِّهَا الْأَمْنَ وَ الْبُشْرَى
وَ الْكَرَامَةَ وَ الزُّلْفَى وَ خَلِّصْهَا مِنْ عَذَابِ الْقَبْرِ وَ النِّيرَانِ وَ أَسْكِنْهَا
فِي دَارِ الْجِنَانِ مَعَ الْوِلْدَانِ اَللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْ قَبْرَهَا رَوْضَةً مِنْ رِيَاضِ
الْجَنَّةِ وَ لَا تَجْعَلْ قَبْرَهَا حُفْرَةً مِنْ حُفَرِ النِّيرَانِ بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ
الرَّاحِمِينَ

"O God, pardon Thou our living and our dead, those of us looking on and those of us absent, our little ones and our adults, our males and our females.

"O God, unto whomsoever Thou grant life, cause Thou him to live resigned to Thy will (a Muslim); and whomsoever Thou call away, make Thou him to die in the faith (a Mu'min).

"Cause Thou this departed one to possess the solace and the ease, the mercy and the grace.

"O God, if she have been a worker of good works, then do Thou add unto her good works. And if she have been an evil-doer, do Thou pass it over. And may security and glad tidings surround her, with honour and privilege. And free Thou her from the torment of the grave and of hell-fires, causing her to dwell in the abode of the paradises, with her children. O God, make Thou her tomb a garden of the gardens of heaven; and let not her grave be a pit of the pits

[8] "Mawqūfātī, Commentary on the Multaqa," vol. i, p. 148, l. 14–19.

of perdition. For Thy mercy's sake, O Thou most compassionate of the merciful."

When the defunct is an infant, a non-adult, not a stillborn corpse, a different prayer is used, as follows; no prayer for pardon being needed for one not responsible :—

اَللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْهَا لَنَا فَرَطًا اَللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْهَا لَنَا أَجْرًا وَ ذُخْرًا
وَ اجْعَلْهَا لَنَا شَافِعَةً مُشَفَّعَةً

"O God, make Thou her unto us a fore-runner, a means of reward and of future provision, and an intercessor whose supplication is acceded to."

That the idea of the coequal immortality of the souls of women with those of men is an ever-living principle of faith among Muslims, is further strikingly evidenced on the tombstones of deceased Muslim women, which everywhere, and throughout the whole thirteen centuries that have elapsed since the promulgation of the faith of Islām, contain inscriptions parallel to those graven over the tombs of men, ending, like these, with the appeal to passers-by, that they will offer up to the throne of grace a recitation of the "Opening Chapter" of the Qur'ān, الفَاتِحَة, as a "pious work" for the benefit of the soul of the departed one.

As a special instance of the vivacity of this belief among Muslims in the immortality of women's souls, it may be considered interesting if I here add the original and a versified translation of a very remarkable passage in the Būstān of Sa'dī, one of the greatest of Persia's modern poets, who died at his native town of Shīrāz in A.D. 1292, at the age

of a hundred and twenty, after having been for a time a prisoner of war, a galley-slave, in the hands of the Crusaders in Syria :—

بِرَادَرْ اَزْ كَارِ بَدَانْ شَرْمْ دَارْ كِه دَرْ رُوِي نِيكَانْ شَوِي شَرْمْسَارْ
دَرْ آنْ رُوزْ كَزْ فِعْلْ پُرسَنْدْ وَ قَوْلْ اُولُو الْعَزْمْرَا تَنْ بِلَرْزَدْ زِ هَوْلْ
بَجَائِي كِه دَهْشَتْ خُورَنْدْ اَنْبِيَا تُوْ عُذْرِ گُنَهْرَا چِه دَارِي بِيَا
زَنَانِي كِه طَاعَتْ بَرَغْبَتْ بَرَنْدْ زِ مَرْدَانِ نَاپَارْسَا بِگْذَرَنْدْ
تُرَا شَرْمْ نَايَدْ زِ مَرْدِي خِوِيشْ كِه بَاشَدْ زَنَانْرَا قَبُولْ اَزْ تُو بِيشْ
زَنَانْ رَا بَعُذْرِ مُعَيَّنْ كِه هَسْتْ زِ طَاعَتْ بِدَارَنْدْ گَهْ گَاهْ دَسْتْ
تُو بِيعُذْرِ يَكْ سُو نِشِينِي چُو زَنْ رُو اَيْ كَمْ زِ زَنْ لَافِ مَرْدِي مَزَنْ

"Be ashamed, my Brother, to work deeds of sin;
Or rebuked thou'lt be in the face of good men.
On the day thou'lt be question'd of thought, word, and deed,
E'en the righteous will quake from just dread of their meed.
In that court where the saints may well crouch with dismay,
What excuse wilt thou give for thy sins? Come now; say!
Devout women, the Lord God who've faithfully serv'd,
Shall high precedence hold over men that have swerv'd.
Hast no shame, thou, a man, as thou call'st thyself now,
That then women shall o'er thee a preference know?
Spite their physical hindrances, women shall then,
Here and there, through devotion, take rank before men.
Thou, excuseless, shalt there, woman-like, stand apart.
Plume thee not as a man! Less than woman, depart!"[9]

Return we now to our Ottoman poetry.

The remaining paraphrases have, like the "Elegy on a Lady," been taken from a treatise on Rhetoric in Turkish, by Sulaymān Pasha, the unsuccessful general of the Sultan's forces in Rumelia during the

[9] Graf's "Boustān de Saadi," p. 419, l. 1–6.

late war, composed by him when a Professor in the Military Academy of Constantinople. Two, however, must be excepted, the "Epitaph on an Officer killed in Battle," and the address "To a Lady, with the writer's photograph." These were furnished by a friend, and are quite recent.

Poetry never having been an especial object of my past research or predilection, though a choice passage always had a high value in my esteem, I must tender an apology to the able writers whose ideas I have ventured to clothe in words of an alien tongue utterly incapable to convey the many charms which a good poet always knows so well how to blend with his diction. The excuse for my undertaking is to be sought in my wish to remove from the public mind the idea that the Ottoman Turks are an ignorant, untutored set of barbarians, void of literature, destitute of poets, and lacking of statesmen, as has been set forth of late by sundry of our public speakers.

I do not know who may have been the orator, that, according to a letter printed in the Supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 194, of Friday, 13th July, 1877, being himself "a lord who passes for both learned and talented," communicated to his constitutents the weighty information that the Turks are a barbarous people, since they have no literature, and have never had any poets, &c., &c. "Da hatten wir das erquickende Schauspiel einen für gelehrt und geistreich geltenden Lord zu sehen, der seinen Wählern die wichtige Mittheilung machte: 'die Türken seien auch schon desshalb ein barbarischees Volk, weil sie gar keine Literatur besitzen, nie Dichter gehabt haben; u.s.w.'" I do know, however, that the

Turks possess, and have long possessed, both before and since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, a body of very learned, erudite men of letters, as deeply read as the best of our University Professors; a voluminous literature in poetry, history, science, and fiction; and a succession of talented statesmen, of whom any nation might feel proud. That "learned and talented Lord" must have relied upon the lack of information of his audience when he gave expression to the proposition above set forth.

The remote ancestors of the Turks were, possibly, not only the first nation that worked iron, steel, and all metals; but were also, perhaps, the very inventors of writing, or its introducers into the west of Asia. The oldest cuneiform inscriptions are in a Turanian language, the science contained in which was so highly valued by the neighbouring monarchs as to be translated at their command into the primitive Semitic, at a date when the Greeks were still unlettered barbarians. In modern times, the observatory erected by order of Ulug-Beg (sometimes written "Ulugh Beigh"), grandson of Tīmūr, at Samarkand, in about the year 1430–40, where the twelve hundred and odd stars contained in Ptolemy's catalogue, except a few of the most southern ones, invisible there, were re-observed and re-catalogued, was a Turkish tribute to science. The "Alphonsine Tables," the first astronomical tables prepared in Europe, between 1250 and 1284, and even then from Arabian sources, were not published (*read*, printed) until 1483;[10] while Tycho Brahe's catalogue of only 777 stars was first given to the world in 1602.

[10] Mem. Roy. Astr. Soc., Vol. xiii: London, 1843, p. 30, footnote (*).

Tīmūr, though he nearly ruined the fortunes of the Ottoman dynasty in 1402, by his defeat and capture of Sultan Bāyezīd I "the Thunderbolt," يِلْدِرِيم, was a Turk himself, and was a great patron of learning. His "Laws" are still extant in his native tongue, the Turkish.

Bābur, his great-great-great-grandson, the conqueror of India in 1525, was founder of the dynasty that, erroneously known in Europe as the line of the "Great Moguls," ruled with dwindling power in that country to our day. He, too, was a Turk, and wrote his own Memoirs in Turkish. These are now being published in India,[11] in original and in translation.

Another Turkish writer of the race of Tīmūr, was Nizāmu-'d-Dīn 'Alī-Shīr, well known as Mīr Alishir, and by his poetical pseudonym of Newā'ī. He was the Vazīr of his cousin, Husayn Mirza, Sultan of Herāt, also a descendant from Tīmūr. He died about the year 1500; and has left numerous works on various subjects, in Turkish and in Persian, in prose and in verse, that are highly esteemed to this day; especially his "Trial of the Two Languages,"[12] in which he weighs the respective merits of the Turkish and Persian tongues for literary purposes, and decides in favour of the former,—of the Turkish.

The Tatārs, too, and the Turkmans, both Turkish-speaking peoples, have had numberless writers and poets. Of the former, besides 'Abū-'l-Gāzi, Prince of Khīva (born A.D. 1605), and author of the

[11] بَابُرنَامَه. The Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Bābur.

[12] مُحَاكَمَهء لُغَتَيْن

"Genealogy of the Turks," شَجَرَهٔ تُرکِی, I will only instance Shāhīn-Girāy, the last of the Khāns, sovereigns of the Crimea, a traitor to his own suzerain and country, a tool and dupe of the licentious Catherine II of Russia, assassin of her own husband and sovereign. There may be seen, in Vol. 18, New Series. for 1861, of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in original and in translation, a "Circular Ode," by this prince, very ingenious in its arrangement. It is accompanied by a summary of the history of Catherine's treacherous and sanguinary theft of Shāhīn's dominions. Both these authors were descendants of Jingīz. As to the Turkmans, there has been published, at the expense of the "Oriental Translation Fund," in London, in 1842, a metrical romance, called "Kurroglu," in English translation, by M. Chodzko, with specimens of the original. It is one of countless similar ballads current among the Turkish-speaking peoples of the East. Its published title of "Popular Poetry of Persia," is somewhat misleading; for the romance is composed in the provincial Turkish *patois* of the nomadic Turkmans—not in Persian of any sort: of which, however, some *patois* specimens are also added.

The Ottoman Turks have produced an uninterrupted succession of excellent writers from the earliest times to the present. Besides their numerous poets of repute, among whom figure a certain number of ladies, they have had a long line of good historians, and crowds of writers on law, theology, tradition, ethics, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy,

and astrology, geography, medicine, *materia medica*, biography, lexicology, fiction, &c. The works of many Turkish authors on theologico-legal subjects are written in Arabic, and those of some are in Persian, as the great mystical poem known as the Masnawī or Mesnevī,[13] composed at Qonya (Iconium), by Jelālu-'d-Dīn, commonly called Mevlānā (our Lord), the founder of the order of dervishes known as the *Dancing Dervishes*.

That the Ottomans had, like all other Eastern nations, for the last several centuries, been content to rest on their oars while Europe has been advancing, very gradually at first, but with a rapidity in these latter days that has become marvellous, is quite true. But during the last fifty years, intellectual activity in respect to the applied sciences has again been awakened in Turkey; newspapers have everywhere multiplied in numerous languages, to suit the heterogeneous races that populate the empire; schools and colleges on modern principles, in addition to the old and ubiquitous church and mosque schools, have been established in every province, among every religious community; the military and naval Academies may be ranked on a par with those of most other nations; codes of laws on European principles have been elaborated, while lawyers and judges for the administration of the same, on the basis of perfect equality for all religions, have gradually been forming; a Constitution has been proclaimed, and a Parliament assembled; material improvement in many branches of activity

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has been fostered; and, though mistakes will naturally have occurred in the hurry of eagerness to improve, still to those who watch the inner workings of the machine, it is clear that considerable progress for good has been made, though wars and foreign intrigues, as well as "vested interests," have tended to clog the wheels and retard the pace. Now that England has undertaken the very complicated task of assisting to guide with her good counsel the future course of the still great Ottoman Empire, with its population of thirty millions under the direct rule of the Sultan, in the well-being of which the dearest interests, moral and material, of all western Europe are indissolubly bound up, we may at least wish and hope that all further calculating mischief may be warded off, and that, after a reasonable interval, the regenerated Ottoman Empire, with all its varied populations, will be seen standing proudly erect, in freedom, prosperity, and happiness, serving as a firm centre from whence may be diffused rays of light and comfort to more distant and less happily circumstanced peoples.

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The orthography of Arabic words, whether employed in the Arabic, the Persian, the Turkish, or any other Muslim language, has never admitted or required modification, from the pre-Islamic days downwards. The spelling of the Persian has also been unalterably fixed for the last thousand years or so; with the addition that, unlike Arabic words, which permit no modification, the long vowels in Persian vocables may be rejected for the sake of metre, and interchanged to a certain extent for the sake of rhyme. The former privilege is utilized in Persian words by Ottoman poets; the latter is used by Persians only. The spelling of Turkish words by Ottomans, and by their Eastern cousins, has not this absolute fixity; more especially as regards the use of vowel-letters. These, which are not then always long, as they are in Arabic and Persian, are more or less optional, being sometimes inserted, and sometimes omitted, even by the same writer; and especially in poetry, for the sake of metre.

Unlike English, French, and other Western languages again, in which all Greek and Latin words, adopted or compounded, are more or less divergently modified in orthography and pronunciation, to suit the usage of each, or for example, *ἐπίσκοπος*, *vescovo*, *évêque*, *bischof*, *bishop*, &c.; and unlike even the Arabic, which, in adopting Persian or Turkish words, always more or less modifies and disfigures them, as does the Persian in adopting Turkish words, the Persian takes all its Arabic words and expressions, and the Turkish all its Arabic and Persian words and expressions, exactly as found in the originals, without altering a single letter in any

one of them. We use Latin and French or Italian words in this way to a certain very limited extent, as when we employ such expressions as *crux*, *lapis-lazuli*, *lapsus linguæ*, *lusus naturæ*, *ad hoc*, *ipse dixit*, &c.; *laissez-faire*, &c.; *chiaro-scuro*, &c.; but these are then always marked as foreign importations.

What the Ottoman scholar does with his borrowed Arabic and Persian words, exactly as educated English people do with their Greek and Latin terms, is to pronounce them in a way of his own; and always so as to soften down the asperities of the horribly guttural Arabic, and of the much vaunted, but really very harsh Persian. The Ottoman Turkish is a beautifully soft, melodious speech, with eleven different short vowel sounds, most of which may be made long also. This is a fuller supply of vowel power than is possessed by any other tongue known to me; though, to judge from the written representations, ancient Greek must have been rich in this respect. Russian is perhaps the best off for vowels of modern European languages; though the French vowel *u* is wanting in it, as in English and Italian. Russian, as Turkish, has eleven vowels; or rather, it has eleven vowel letters, while French has seven vowel sounds, and Italian only five. Four of the Russian vowel letters are, however, mere duplicates of four others, with a consonantal *y* sound preceding the vowel. This adscititious sound of consonantal *y* is much used in Turkish also, but only after the letters *k*, ك, and *hard g*, گ. It is of frequent occurrence in English, too; though, as in Turkish, it has no written representative. Thus we write *tune*, and pronounce *tyune*, &c.

Turkish poetry follows the system and very numerous rules of metre and rhyme elaborated by the Arabs, and added to by the Persians. The metres are extremely multitudinous; and the "feet" are of much greater variety than in Greek and Latin verse. The rhyming system has two principal branches; the one is of Arabian origin, the other is, I think, Persian. In the Arabian method, the terminations of all the distichs (بَيْتٌ, بَيْتٌ) rhyme with one another and also, for the most part, with the termination of the first hemistich (مِصْرَاعٌ, مِصْرَاعٌ) of the opening distich. This "opening distich," of which the two hemistichs rhyme with one another, has a special technical name (مَطْلَعٌ, مَطْلَعٌ), not borne by the opening distich of a piece of poetry in which the two hemistichs do not rhyme together, as is sometimes seen. In the Persian system, on the contrary, the terminations of the distichs do not rhyme with one another; but those of the two hemistichs in each distich are in rhyme. This Persian arrangement bears the Arabic name of Masnawī (مَثْنَوِى); in Turkish, Mesnevī; and this means *consisting of paired rhymes.* This name is applied, *par excellence,* to the great mystic poem by Jelālu-'d-Dīn of Qonya lately mentioned. Arabian poetry, as in Persian and Turkish pieces, is sometimes found without an "opening distich" in which the hemistichs rhyme. Such pieces are styled "fragments" (قِطْعَهٔ, قِطْعَةٌ).

Metrical compositions bear various names, according to their respective lengths. Thus, there is the *single metrical hemistich* (مصراع), in which rhyme cannot, of course, be considered. Many a solitary sentiment is thus expressed. Next comes the *distich* or *couplet* (بيت), of two rhyming hemistichs, and forming the complete expression of a sentiment more or less compounded. Then we have the *tetrastich* (رباعی), always in Arabian rhyme, though sometimes the third hemistich rhymes preferentially also with the other three. Many beautiful sentiments are expressed in this very favourite form. Almost every poet's collected works contain a chapter of tetrastichs (رباعیات). The "fragment" has already been defined; it may be of two or of any greater number of distichs. The "Ode" (غزل) always in Arabian rhyme, with a regular opening distich, may contain from seven to twelve distichs, in the last of which the poet must give his name. The "Idyl" (قصیده), also in Arabian rhyme, is of thirteen distichs and upwards. There are, furthermore, poems arranged in strophes or stanzas, the strophes consisting each of an equal number of distichs, generally from five to ten, arranged in Arabian metre with an opening distich; but the various strophes need not be of the same rhyme. Of the same metre they must be throughout any one such poem; and the last distichs of the several strophes must rhyme with one another, something like our "*chorus*." This rhyme may be the same

with that of the first strophe, though this is not obligatory; and the last distichs of all the strophes may be repetitions of the same words in each; though this, too, is optional. A separate special name is given, technically, to such poem according to the recurrence or non-recurrence of the same words in these last distichs of the strophes (تَرْكِيبْ بَنْدْ, تَرْجِيعْ بَنْدْ).

According to the subjects, there are epics and lyrics, songs (مَعْنِي, شَرْقِي, تُرْكِي), anacreontics, eulogiums (مَدْحِيَّه), satires (هِجْو), lampoons, elegies, dirges (مَرْثِيَه), anthems (اِلَاهِي), ballads, epigrams, chronograms (تَارِيخ), enigmas (مُعَمَّا), facetiæ (هَزْلِيَّات), and what not, in as great profusion and variety as in any other known tongue. This is not, however, the place for an exhaustive survey of the subject. Enough has already been said, perhaps, to convict of very unguarded venturesomeness, the "learned and talented" orator who had denied to a gifted nation its meed of well-deserved literary reputation, and who deduced from his false premises the unfounded and utterly irrelevant conclusion that "they are therefore a barbarous people." Instances are by no means lacking among ourselves to show that learning and talent do not always "soften manners." It would not, then, be wise or true to retort that "because the Turks possess a voluminous literature, as old at least as that of England's vernacular, and because they have now, as they always have had, poets by the score, therefore they are a

civilized race." Civilization, after all, is something like orthodoxy: "Mine is genuine; all others are spurious." Learned Turks, Persians, Chinese, &c., in their isolation and pride of pedantry, usually look upon us Europeans as unlettered savages, because we do not speak, read, and write their languages. Ought we, cosmopolitan as we fondly think ourselves, and as we really are in comparison, to show ourselves as narrow in our views, as unjust, and as uncharitable, as they undoubtedly are in this respect?

I have met with a very pertinent anecdote in D'Herbelot's "Bibliothèque Orientale," *voce* "Ahmed Basha," which shows to what an extent, and in what olden time, poetry was commonly cultivated among the Ottoman Turks, and employed on all manners of occasions.

"Ahmed Pasha, known as Hersek-Oglu, from his being a son of the Christian prince, Stephen, Duke of Bosnia, was brought up as a Turkish Muslim. He became son-in-law to Sultan Bāyezīd the Second, one of whose generals he was," and was four times Grand Vazīr. "He was a good Turkish poet. Being one day in a public bath, where he was waited on by a number of handsome young slaves, a satirist there present composed a lampoon to this effect:

> "Le Ciel est maintenant bien deshonoré,
> Puisque les Anges sont obligés de servir le Diable.

"The Pasha avenged himself, poetically, by answering with the following squib:

> "Le Ciel était aveugle; et il est maintenant devenu sourd;
> Car il n'est plus resté de muets dans le monde, depuis qu'un chacun se mêle de faire des vers."

It were devoutly to be wished that D'Herbelot had given the original Turkish, as he sometimes does with Arabic and Persian sentences and verses.

Proceed we now to our specimens, beginning with the oldest.

I.—Concluding Strophe of an Elegy on Sultan Selim I; by his contemporary, 'Ashiq-Pasha-Zāda. (This monarch reigned less than nine years, and died A.D. 1520.)

عَزْمِدَه نَوْجَوَانْ وُ حَزْمِدَه پِيرْ صَاحِبُ السَّيْفْ وَصَائِبُ التَّدْبِيرْ
هَمْ صَفْ آرَايِدِى هَمْ آصَفْ رَأْى نَه وَزِيرْ اِيسْتَرْ اِيدِى وُ نَه مُشِيرْ
اَلِى شِمْشِيرْ اِيدِى وُ دِلِى خَنْجَرْ نِيزَه اِيدِى قَوِلِى وُ پَرْمَغِى تِيرْ
آزْ زَمَانْدَه چُوقْ اِيشْ اِيتْمِشِيدِى سَايَه‌سِى اُولْمِشْ اِيدِى عَالَمْگِيرْ
شَمْسِ عَصْرِ اِيدِى عَصْرْدَه شَمْسِكْ ظِلِّى اُوزُون اُولُورْ زَمَانِى قَصِيرْ
تَاجْ وُ تَخْتِيلَه فَخْرْ اِيدَرْ بَگْلَرْ فَخْرْ اِيدَرْدِى آنِكْلَه تَاجْ وُ سَرِيرْ
گُوكْلِى اُولْ سُورْدَه بُولُورْدِى سُرُورْ كِه چَالَه چَاغْرِيدِى تِيغْ وُ نَفِيرْ
رَزْمْ اِيشِنْدَه وُ بَزْمْ عِيشِنْدَه گُورْمَدِى پِيرِ چَرْخْ آكَا نَظِيرْ
چِيقْسَه اَيْوَانِ بَزْمَه مِهْرِ مُنِيرْ گِيرْسَه مَيْدَانِ رَزْمَه شِيرِ دِلِيرْ
اُولِجَقْ دَارْ وُ گِيرْ اُولْ شِيرِى آكْسُونْ وُ قَانْلَرْ آغْلَسُونْ شِمْشِيرْ
حَيْفْ سُلْطَانْ سَلِيمَه حَيْفْ وُدِرِيغْ هَمْ قَلَمْ آغْلَسُونْ آنِى هَمْ تِيغْ

In energy an ardent youth, in prudence an old man;
Of sword, the lord, in fight; successful each adopted plan.[14]

[14] Lit. "Lord of the sword, hitting of plan"; *i.e.*, a warrior and a statesman.

With armed hosts, a strategist: a Solon in debate;
No captain needed, but himself; no Councillor of State.
His hand a trenchant falchion was; his tongue, a dagger's blade;
A lance's beam, his arm; his finger dread as arrow's shade.
In briefest space wide conquests made; his word as law was met;
Sun of his age;—but ev'ning's sun, long-shadow'd, soon to set.
Of crown and throne most princes boast, and pomp of outward pow'r;
His diadem and seat rejoic'd to own him his short hour.
His heart's core revel'd in that grand and solemn festival,
Where trumpets sound the charge, and swords play out their carnival.
In bus'ness of the battle-field, in pleasure of the feast,
His like the spheres have ne'er beheld, from greatest down to least.
When striding forth to banquet-hall, a radiant sun he shone;
When rushing to the scene of strife, his voice the lion's tone.
As evermore the shouts of war: Seize! Hold! roll o'er the bourn,
The sabre shall recall him; still, with tears of blood him mourn.
Alas for Sultan Selim! Ha! And yet again, Alas!
Let poet's pen deplore his death; and war's blade weep his loss!

This is no bad specimen of an elegy. Like some of our ancient heroes, Selim was "wise in council, valiant in the field"; like champions of old, he was "potent in fight and feast." But the whole strophe is, furthermore, beyond its plain verbal meaning, a very model of those parallels of sense and assonance so much prized in the East. Every sentence is nicely balanced; each word has its counterpart. The passage deserves careful study as an exquisite example of the best style of Turkish poetry. Its

and astrology, geography, medicine, *materia medica*, biography, lexicology, fiction, &c. The works of many Turkish authors on theologico-legal subjects are written in Arabic, and those of some are in Persian, as the great mystical poem known as the Masnawī or Mesnevī,[13] composed at Qonya (Iconium), by Jelālu-'d-Dīn, commonly called Mevlānā (our Lord), the founder of the order of dervishes known as the *Dancing Dervishes*.

That the Ottomans had, like all other Eastern nations, for the last several centuries, been content to rest on their oars while Europe has been advancing, very gradually at first, but with a rapidity in these latter days that has become marvellous, is quite true. But during the last fifty years, intellectual activity in respect to the applied sciences has again been awakened in Turkey; newspapers have everywhere multiplied in numerous languages, to suit the heterogeneous races that populate the empire; schools and colleges on modern principles, in addition to the old and ubiquitous church and mosque schools, have been established in every province, among every religious community; the military and naval Academies may be ranked on a par with those of most other nations; codes of laws on European principles have been elaborated, while lawyers and judges for the administration of the same, on the basis of perfect equality for all religions, have gradually been forming; a Constitution has been proclaimed, and a Parliament assembled; material improvement in many branches of activity

[13] مَثْنَوِی شَرِيفْ

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has been fostered; and, though mistakes will naturally have occurred in the hurry of eagerness to improve, still to those who watch the inner workings of the machine, it is clear that considerable progress for good has been made, though wars and foreign intrigues, as well as "vested interests," have tended to clog the wheels and retard the pace. Now that England has undertaken the very complicated task of assisting to guide with her good counsel the future course of the still great Ottoman Empire, with its population of thirty millions under the direct rule of the Sultan, in the well-being of which the dearest interests, moral and material, of all western Europe are indissolubly bound up, we may at least wish and hope that all further calculating mischief may be warded off, and that, after a reasonable interval, the regenerated Ottoman Empire, with all its varied populations, will be seen standing proudly erect, in freedom, prosperity, and happiness, serving as a firm centre from whence may be diffused rays of light and comfort to more distant and less happily circumstanced peoples.

The specimens of Ottoman Turkish poetry here offered, in paraphrase of English verse, are fourteen in number, and are of various ages, from the early part of the sixteenth century to the present time. In three or four centuries the Ottoman Turkish language has not had to be modernised in expression, as English, French, and German have been. The language was as perfect then as it is now, in the hands of masters; but there is as much difference now as there was then in the respective vernaculars of the capital and the various provinces.

and astrology, geography, medicine, *materia medica*, biography, lexicology, fiction, &c. The works of many Turkish authors on theologico-legal subjects are written in Arabic, and those of some are in Persian, as the great mystical poem known as the Masnawī or Mesnevī,[13] composed at Qonya (Iconium), by Jelālu-'d-Dīn, commonly called Mevlānā (our Lord), the founder of the order of dervishes known as the *Dancing Dervishes*.

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اولمش روان دشت جنونه بنم کبی
بر سروه گندین ایلیوب افگنده جویبار
نظاره ایله سینه‌ء سوزانمده اخگر
سیر ایتمدکسه آتش گلخنده جویبار
بن برگل ایچون آغلرم اول گلستان ایچون
اولمزمی گورسه اشکمی شرمنده جویبار
قطع حدوده اولدی سپاهی کبی روان
تیمار دشتنی گوردی پراکنده جویبار
مجنون اشکم ایله بوشانمشدی باغدن
آخر چکلدی شهره گیروب بن ده جویبار
دوشدی ره عنایتنه آز سر نیاز
سلطان نوبهاره اولوب بنده جویبار
عزت مداد خامه‌مك اولمازدی پیروی
گر پیر اوینی اولمسه جوینده جویبار

Apace my tears flow'd as I scann'd the scene.
So gush'd a babbling brook in meadow green ;
Whose waters purl'd and murmur'd as they mov'd,
In circles round about a tree it lov'd.

From thence till now, each spring, in season, yields
Sweet recollection of yon brook, tree, fields.
A wand'rer then I was, distraught with woes ;
That streamlet seem'd to writhe in mazy throes.

Like trickling sap from wood in oven cast,
My tears the outpour of a flaming breast.

Hast never witness'd such? A hearth survey.
Its ashes symbolize my heart's decay.

A rosebud maid, indiff'rent to my pain,
Drew forth my tears. The log, for native plain
Weeps, burning;—an exile, from forest torn.
Both shame the brook;—we laugh its stream to scorn.

Or else, perchance, that river rose, a host,
To shield the frontiers of a land, else lost,
Bursting all barriers, like my tearful tides,
Afield; its flood time past, like them subsides;—

A headstrong bully in spring's overflow;
A humble mendicant in summer's glow.—
Know, poet! as that brook thus seeks its Source,
It does but mimic thy pen's streaming course.

The poetical idea of a brook loving and courting a tree, a cypress, growing on its bank, recalls Moore's pretty verse:

"If I were yonder wave, my dear,
And thou the isle it clasps around,
I would not let a foot come near
My land of bliss, my fairy ground."

This, and a construing the meanderings of the stream into the agony of an impatient or jealous lover; the poetical exaggeration in comparing tears and the sap-drops of burning firewood to a river; and the climax of darkly alluding to the origin of the brook, through the rain-cloud, in the distant ocean, to which it hastes to return, with a comparison of this to the action of the poet's pen, which, in all its copious effusions, seeks but to render tribute to the great hidden Source of all entity, form the very striking motives of this beautiful poem. In the

passage rendered: "Bursting all barriers," there is, in the original, a clever play on the word *bāg*, which in Turkish means a *bond, band, tie, tether, chain, fetter*, but in Persian a *garden, park, woodland*. The river bursts from the wooded hills, the poet's tears, like a chained madman in confinement, burst their bonds, and both escape on their wilful course.

IX.—Eulogy of the Pen; by 'Izzet Molla.

قَلَمْ كَافْ وُ نُونَه اُولُوبْ وَاسِطَه ظُهُورْ اِيتْدِى اَشْيَادَه هَمْ رَابِطَه
تَهِى آيَتِنْدَه اِيدَرْمِى قَسَمْ طَرَازِنْدَه خَامَه وُ اَلْقَلَمْ
قَلَمْ اُولْمَسَه نُقْطَه بَخْشَاىِ نُونْ بِيلِنْمَزْدِى سِرِّ وُ مَا يَسْطُرُونْ
اُو ظُلْمَتْدَه پِنْهَانْ دِرْ آبِ حَيَاتْ مَدَادِنْدَه جُوشَانْ دِرْ آبِ حَيَاتْ
دِگُلْ دِرْ اُو آبِ بَقَا لَذَّتِى اُولُورْ اُولْمَزْ اِسْكَنْدَرِكْ قِسْمَتِى
جَمَالِى اَگَرْچِه سِيَهْگُونْ دِرْ كَمَالِى كُونَشْ كِبِى رُوزَافْزُونْ دِرْ
جِهَانْگَرْدِ گِيتِيسِتَانْ دِرْ قَلَمْ گَزَرْ دَهْرِى بِرْ دَاسْتَانْ دِرْ قَلَمْ
اُولُورْ زِيبِ بَزْمِ شَهَانِ جِهَانْ بِيلُورْ هَرْ لِسَانْ اِسْتَمَزْ تَرْجُمَانْ
گَزَرْ مِلْكِ غَيْرِى اُو مَحْسُودِ جَمْ وَ لِى پَايِتَخْتِى دِيَارِ عَجَمْ
اُو دِرْ حَاكِمِ حَاسِمِ هَرْ دِيَارْ مَوَالِى آنِكْلَه اِيدَرْ اِفْتِخَارْ
اُو دِرْ مَعْنَوِى بِرْ وَلِىِّ اَلنِّعَمْ دُو شِقِّ زَبَانِنْدَه لَا وُ نَعَمْ
دَهَانِنْ گُشَادْ اَيْلَمَزْ نَاكَسَه مَگَّر كِيمْ بِرْ اَهْلِ مَعَارِفْ كَسَه
اَگَرْ اَزْ قَضَا اَلْسَه نَادَانْ اَلَه وِيرِرْ رَعْشَه‌سِى صَفْحَه‌يَه زَلْزَلَه
وِه مَعْرِفَتْدَه وِيرِرْ گَرْچِه بَاشْ اِيدَرْ دَسْتِ جَاهِلْدَنْ آنْجَقْ تَلَاشْ

مِزَاجِنْدَه وَارْ دِرْ تَلَوُّن بِرْ آزْ اِيدَرْ بَحْثِي گَهْ قَصْرُ گَاهِي دِرَازْ
گَچُوبْ ظُلْمَتِ وَصْفِ گَيْسُويْدَنْ اُولُورْ گَاهْ رَنْجِيدَه بِرْ مُويْدَنْ
گَمَالَاتِنَه هِيچْ آچِلْمَزْ دَهَنْ بَاقَرْ آغْزِينَه آنْكْ اَهْلِ سُخَنْ
بِتُونْ فَاضِلَانَه مُعَاصِرْ دِرْ اُولْ جَمِيعِ مَبَاحِثْدَه حَاضِرْ دِرْ اُولْ
زَبَانْ نَارَسَا وَصْفِ تَالِيفِنَه عُقُولْ اِيرْمَزْ اَعْدَادِ تَصْنِيفِنَه
بُو رُتْبَه كَمَالَاتِي مَشْهُورْ اِيكَنْ جِهَانْ آبِ لُطْفِيلَه مَعْمُورْ اِيكَنْ
قُورُرْ چَشْمَه‌سَارِ مَدَادِ سِيَاهْ اُولُورْ قَطْرَه‌سِ آبَه مُحْتَاجْ گَاهْ
قَالُورْ تَا اِيدِنْجَه بِرْ آزْ نُوشِ آبْ مَدَادْ اِيچْرَه پَارَگِلِ پِيچْتَابْ
اُو بِيچَارَه آنْجَقْ چَكَرْ زَحْمَتِي آلُورْ صَفْحَه آغْزَنْدَه‌كِي نِعْمَتِي
دَهَانِنْدَه قَالُورْسَه بِرْ پَارَه آبْ لَبِ كَاتِبْ آنْدَنْ اُولُورْ حِصَّه‌يَابْ
بِرْ آزِينْ دَخِي نُوشْ اِيدَرْ دَسْتْمَالْ بُو دِرْ اِشْتَه رُوزِي اَهْلِ كَمَالْ
فَلِلَّهِ دَرُّهُ چِه خُوشْ گُفْتَه اَسْتْ كِه سَعْدِي دِرِ اِينْ مَعْنَى سُفْتَه اَسْتْ
بَشَهْرِ اِينْ مَثَلْ شَهْرَه‌يِ عَالَمَسْتْ كِه هَرْكَسْ هُنَرْ بِيشِ رُوزِي كَمَسْتْ

By seraph "Pen" at Nature's birth,
On "Tablet" of God's providence
All ineffaceably inscribed,
The fiat of Omnipotence
Was: "Be!" Hence rose this wond'rous chain.

God, in His sacred scripture, swears,—
Nor vainly swears,—thus: "By the Pen!"
That Pen the centre was, we see,
Of being. Otherwise our ken
Had not existed. All were vain.

God then proceeds to swear once more:
"By what they write!" The reed pens now

Are made the "Darkness," whence comes forth
The "Stream of Life," whose waters flow
From inkhorn fount, drawn by man's brain.

The fluid of that sacred source,
Transform'd by genius into fire
Of spirit-stirring words, the fruits
Of lofty thoughts, man's noblest hire,
Wells up and overflows amain.

Not ev'ry Alexander may
Achieve a taste of that blest spring;
Th' elect alone, the favour'd few,
Its waters to their lips may bring,
To send it forth a living train.

Though swart its hue, the dark reed pen
Diffuses light,—a glorious sun;
No climes but what its fruits enjoy,
No land but where its workings run,
Maturing still sweet wisdom's grain.

No time but where the pen records
Th' events or tales that mark its course,
The sov'reign's triumphs, battles, feasts.
It speaks all tongues with equal force;
No "Truchman's" aid need it retain.

It travels far, is prized by all,—
This son of Persia's torrid shore,
The judge it is whose firm decrees
Respected stand for evermore;—
Its mandates legists must maintain.

The pen's a patron, in the sense
That from it flows or "Yea" or "Nay."
Dumb it remains with worthless wights:
Grows eloquent, wit's flashes play,
When talent prompts the fervid strain.

With awkward scribblers, one and all,
It splutters, blurts, befouls the page;
Like well-train'd courser, on it speeds,
When guided by a master sage,
Who knows to check or slack the rein.

Capricious, true, its moods are found,—
Now garrulous, now taciturn;—
At times dilates on tresses dark,
As wishing ev'ry curl to learn;
At times one hair will give it pain.

None dare dispute the pen's great pow'r;
The author notes, obeys its rules.
Contemporary with each age,
It settles all disputes of schools;
None, of its judgments, e'er complain.

Tongue cannot tell its magic force;
Its powers no mind can well conceive.
The pen's throughout the world renown'd;
All men, with thanks, its gifts receive;
And all its debtors must remain.

Its stream sometimes will fail at need;
The pen will flag through lack of food;
Nor can its strength recruited be,
Save by renewal of ink's flood.
Then it resumes its work again.

Taking no thought about itself,
The parent stork to callow brood
Its blood gives up. Just so the pen
To paper yields its store of food,
A tribe of offspring to sustain.

Nay, more;—if but a trace be left
Of moisture, this the scribe will sue;
His greedy lip claims as a fee,
What justly is the wiper's due.
So, authors, fares your scanty gain.

God bless the poet who has said,
To paint this subject with due care:
"The public voice a proverb has:
"'The more man shows of talent rare,
"'Less daily bread may he obtain.'"

The composition of this poem appears to have been called for by the author's admiration of a panegyric he had just before indited in praise of Sultan Mahmūd, through which he had hoped to obtain his recall from banishment, but in which hope he was as yet for some months doomed to disappointment. The "Eulogy of the Pen" exhibits a great exuberance of imagination; but its subject was only half worked out, as our next specimen, the "Answer of the Pen," will show.

The religious myth, with allusion to which the poem commences, of the "Pen," the "Tablet," and the "Fiat," is based, partly on the text, eight times repeated in the Qur'ān (ch. ii, v. 3; iii, 42, 52; vi, 72; xvi, 42; xix, 36; xxxvi, 82; and xl, 70), of; "Be; and it is":—a parallel to the biblical text: He spake; and it was *done*" (Ps. xxxiii, 9); where "done" is printed in italics, as not being in the original Hebrew; partly on the first verse of the sixty-eighth chapter of that volume: "By the Pen! And, by what they write!" and partly, again, on sundry other texts dispersed over the book. The myth is as follows: God, in all eternity, contemplated the perfection of a saint, entertained a divine love for the conception, resolved upon realizing it, and issued His fiat: "Be." Hereupon, the potential essence of the prophet, Muhammad, the "Beloved of God (حَبِيبُ اللهِ)

before all worlds, the seraphic "Pen," and the "Hidden Tablet," starting into an eternal existence, the Pen inscribed the fiat on the Tablet, and thus became the means of all created existences,—"this wond'rous chain" of spiritual and material beings,—that were called from non-entity in order to the production and glorification of that saintly conception. By that Pen does God swear in the passage mentioned. The actors indicated in the second clause of the oath: "By what they write!" is by some explained as the transcribers of the Qur'ān, by others as the "Recording Angels," who note down men's thoughts, words, and deeds, for use at the final judgment.

Of the "Stream of Life" and the "Darkness" I have spoken before, in No. 4. But here, in connection with the "pen," ink is made a "stream of life," the inkhorn its "fount," the pen its channel, and writings its branches, carrying intellectual life everywhere. The mention of Alexander is also explained in No. 4.

"Truchman" was, in bygone days, the accepted form of the title now written *drogman* or *dragoman*. All three are corruptions of the word *terjumān*, ترجمان, which the Egyptians pronounce with hard *g*: *targumān*, and which signifies an *interpreter*. This word *terjumān* is Arabic, but derived from the Syriac or Hebrew. It is used in all Muslim languages. The *drogmans* in Turkey and elsewhere, other than those of some of the embassies, are usually a very ignorant race, who jabber a kind of broken lingo that is taken for fluent speaking by the uninitiated. Of the first rudiments of reading

and writing the various Muslim tongues they are entirely innocent, even when born in the country.

The reed pens used all over the world of Islām for writing, are brought from Persia and carried everywhere by itinerant merchants of that country. The "hair" in a pen's nib is a well-known source of annoyance to writers. It makes a pen "sick."

The ink used in the East is very different from what we are acquainted with. It is more of the nature of "Indian ink," and is a compound of lamp-black, gum, and water. The inkstand is provided with a certain quantity of the rougher fibres of silk found on the exterior of cocoons. This absorbs the ink, prevents its too rapid evaporation, and makes it somewhat portable in special inkstands. The silk further forms a soft cushion, on which the transversely truncated nib of the reed pen impinges in dipping for ink, and is so shielded from becoming bruised against the silver, brass, china, or earthenware bottom of the inkstand. The ink will, however, from time to time, become too thick. It then requires the addition of a few drops of water to restore its requisite degree of fluidity. The very common trick of "sucking" a pen is cleverly turned to account; as also the mere vehicular function of the pen itself. With the sly poke at patrons and publishers, not to forget their satellites, many an author will be found to sympathize all over the world.

X.—The Pen's answer to the Poet.

سِزِكْ دَائِمَا لَطْفِكْزْ وَارْ اُولسُونْ هُنَرْدَشْمَنَانْ زَمَانْ خوَارْ اُولسُونْ

نه حاصل بزم کبی بر چوپدن ندر فرقیز چوب و جاروبدن
اگر ایتمسه تربیت قابلاف نه قابلدی اولمق گشاده زبان
نیستانده قالسقدی زار و زبون اولورمیدی دل واقف هر فنون
نیم بن که حاشا اوله قدرتم بنان افاضلده در قوتم
بنم شهرتم آنلرك لطفی در جهانگیر او خاقانلرك نطقی در
بنی نوعمزدن نیجه دردمند زنانك اولور تار جورنده بند
سبب ایلدی حق تعالی سزی خلاص ایتدیکز اول جفادن بزی
مداد فحوله ایدوب سرفرو او آب کرامتله ایتدك وضو
اولوب جبهه‌مز لایق سجده‌گاه پرستشده قیلدی موفق اله
وضویه فحول اولمسه ابتدا نه مکندی مس کلام خدا
هنرپرورانه ایدوب انتساب دخی اولمدق هیزم هر کباب
اولوب جسیمز مستعد لهب یقاردی بزی جاهلن بی تعب
نیستانده وارمیدی آب حیات نیچون بولمدق تشنه‌لکدن نجات
دخی طفل نوساله ایگن هنوز یقاردی دل و جانی تاب تموز
چایر چایر ایتمش ایدك التهاب گلوب ویرمدی کیمسه بر قطره آب
فحوله نوله ایلسك سر فدا بزه اولدیلر خضر آب بقا
اگر ایتمسك انتساب کبار بنردی بزه کودك نیسوار
اولور بعضیمز مولوی‌یه نفیر موالی‌یه بندن صغیر و کبیر
بزه اهل دل محرم راز در گورنلر صانورلر که بر ساز در
بزی تربیت قیلدی اهل کمال ایدوب محرم مجلس حال وقال

خُدَا آنلَرِی بَرْدَوَامْ اَیْلَیَه بِزِی جَاهِلَانَه حَرَامْ اَیْلَیَه
کَرَمْ اَیْلَیُوبْ دَمْبَدَمْ اَهْلِ حَالْ بِزِمْلَه اِیدَرْلَرْ خَفِی قِیلْ وُ قَالْ
قَالْوَرْدِقْ اَکَرْ اُولْمَسَه عَالِمَانْ بُو مُرْغَانْ بِی نَانْ وُ بِی آشْیَانْ
دَوَاتِی اِیدَرْلَرْ مَلَاذْ وُ مَآبْ بُولُورْ آنْدَه اَطْفَالِمِزْ خُورْدْ وُ خَوَابْ
نَیِزْ بِزْ اُولَه بِزْدَه لَا وُ نَعَمْ بِینَه عَالِمَانْ دِرْ وُلِیُّ النِّعَمْ

Your praises, poet, touch my heart :
They're proofs of kindest favour felt ;
Could envious railers silenced be,
By disappointment on them dealt,
'Twould be a happy end attain'd.

What virtue is there in me found,—
A stick, a straw, of no account ?
With humble broom I might be rank'd ;
But men of talent made me mount,
And gave a worth, not else retain'd.

I never should have found my tongue,
Had I been left in native pool ;
Could I have learnt each word, each term,
That noble science makes her tool,
Had I a rustic still remain'd ?

What thing am I to have a pow'r ?
My strength is in the guiding hand
Of genius. Ye, men, lend us fame.
The only true lords of the land
Are they who have the right maintain'd.

How many of my fellow reeds
Are to the weaver's web confin'd !
Whilst thou, my poet, teaching me,—
By God to thy fair charge consign'd,—
Far nobler duties hast explain'd.

Thou'st set me free from abject use;
Thus bow I down on wisdom's floor,
Bathing my head in hallow'd rill,
That sanctifies me to adore
The Pow'r before whom all must bend.

Prostrate, with forehead in the dust,—
As on pray'r-mat, on paper prone,—
My soul pours forth in words of fire;—
I beg for humble needs alone,
Or glory give where justly claim'd.

Did not the scribe me first baptize
In font of learning, had I zest
To oft repeat the "Word of God,"
Or formulate the soul's behest
In prayers, from Saints of old retain'd?

By yielding service to the wise,
I've 'scap'd the doom of roasting-spit,
Or fuel for consuming fire,
That men with me had gladly lit,
My flaming soul hadst thou not train'd.

The fen's dank soil prov'd not a charm
To save me from my parch'd estate;
Still young and green, in jungle bed,
Scorch'd, burnt each summer,—such my fate,—
My thirst no water-drop restrain'd.

What wonder, then, that now I serve,
With willing steadfastness, the hand
Of ev'ry son of genius, kind,
Who ministers to my demand
Deep nectar-draughts, in ink contain'd?

Had they not seen my latent gifts,
And put me to a higher use,
I'd been, perchance, a walkingstick,
Child's hobby-horse, some fool's abuse,
Or urg'd some slave, to toil constrain'd.

My fellows, here and there, are flutes,
In dervish hands, at sacred dance;
Whose hopes or fears, loves, joys or cares,
Are whisper'd, in ecstatic trance,
To loyal breasts that ne'er have feign'd.

The vulgar see in us but reeds;
Those mystics make us confidants;
Pouring their secrets in our ears,
Confiding all their inmost wants;—
A double solace thus is gain'd.

Through them we join in holy choir,
We're sanctified in their bless'd throng.
Those warbling notes thus raise our kind;—
Cherish'd we are like birds of song,
Who, else, as outcasts were disdain'd.

Though but mere waifs, our little ones
Are fondly tended, put to bed,
A home provided by their friends,
At fitting season duly fed,
Cleans'd, trimm'd and fashion'd; so ordain'd.

Their house, cup, cradle, all in one,
The inkhorn is,— our source of fame.
Poor weeds we are, all valueless;
Pow'r we have none, except in name;
Through man we rule, by him sustain'd.

To "envious railers" among his rivals did the poet attribute his exile, more than to any political enemies. By the exertions of literary friends was he ultimately recalled.

A characteristic instance of the ingenuity with which homonyms can be used in Turkish, occurs at the beginning of the fifth couplet of the original of this poem, and is repeated at the beginning of the

last couplet in a modified form. The figure of *homonymy*—the *pun*,—of which Addison said: "it can be no more engraven than it can be translated," may consist, in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, of one or more words, taken again as one or more words, similarly or differently subdivided, but having a different meaning. It is of various degrees, from perfect identity of spelling, pronunciation, and subdivision, to mere etymological suggestion, and affords a rich field for the secondary embellishment of primarily beautiful poetry. For, though it is looked upon, in the East also, as "*a low kind of wit*" in itself, it is deservedly considered a legitimate adornment of such language as is essentially all ornamentation. Turkish is richer in this faculty than Arabic or Persian; if not, as Mīr 'Alishīr asserted, in its own native vocabulary, it is so in its literary fullness; since it may employ a word in its Arabic, Persian, and Turkish meaning, provided that the sentence in which it is found suits those various senses. Turkish grammar, even, applied to words of either of those languages, may convert them into homonyms with a new signification. The old and vulgar Latin-English pun of "*Quid rides*" may help to explain. The original Turkish in the fifth couplet, rendered in the opening line of my fourth stanza by "What thing am I?" is *ne-yim*; where *nè* means "*what*," *im* means "*I am*," and, by reason of the interrogative, "am I"; while the *y* is intercalated grammatically, exactly as the *t* in the French *a-t-il*, and for the same reason,—to separate two vowels that would otherwise, by phrasal construction, be brought accidentally together. But, on the other

hand, the Persian word *ney*, much used in Turkish, means *a reed*, and also *a flute*; the letter *y* being already an integral part of its orthography, and of itself a consonant. On adding to this the Turkish verb *im*, as before, we have *ney-im* instead of *ne-yim*; the meaning now being *I am a reed.* Either of the two senses—*What am I*, and *I am a reed*, is applicable to the remainder of the phrase. Had I adopted the second, the line would have had to be rendered: "*I am a reed, and God forfend that I should* be so presumptuous as to *claim a possession of power.*"

"Weavers" use "reeds" as bobbins in their shuttles. The poet here made his weavers women, or perhaps he intended rather the *spinsters* than the *weavers*; for neither word is explicitly given; on the contrary, he greatly heightens the beauty of the line by making those bobbin-reeds "*captives in the threads of the tyranny of women*,"—hapless lovers, hopeless slaves, victims of unrequited love.

As the Muslim must perform an "ablution" before divine service (which with him is not "*prayer*," but "*praise*"), and before touching or reciting the "Word of God," *i.e.*, the Qur'ān, so also must the "pen" be metaphorically "baptized" in ink, ere it can perform its office, which is often that of "repeating" the "Word," by transcribing it. With Muslims, manuscript is greatly preferred to printing for all books of a religious nature; though even the Qur'ān itself is now printed and used by them.

"Flutes, in dervish hands" is an allusion to the religious ceremonies of the "dancing dervishes," so well-known to travellers who have paid a visit to

their establishment near the European suburb of Constantinople. Their "waltz" is performed to the accompaniment of reed "flutes," to which they are devotedly and sentimentally attached. They are of the "order" founded at Qonya by the great mystical poet Jelālu-'d-Dīn, already mentioned.

XI.—The Mufti of Ergena[16]; by 'Izzet Molla.

(A specimen of light banter.)

اَیشتمش ایدم مفتی ارکنه قوجه‌لقده بکزر ایمش ارکنه
نصیب اولمامش ائتحا سنتی جوانلقده قالمق ایمش نیتی
بولوك باشیلرکبی باشنده شال ایدرمش آنك ایله ستر کمال
صقالسزلغن فکر ایدوب موبمو جمالن گوکل ایلدی آرزو
ایدوب بو رباعیمزی نامه‌زیب آرادم مناسب بر برید ادیب

رباعی

ای مفتی بیریش کرامت‌اندیش
بو عزت دلریشدن اول کیم آگاه
دیدارکی اوزلر سنی گوزلر دائم
اولدی شو کشانه گله‌لی بر قاچ ماه

صادف ایدوب عزمنه طلعتك بریدی اولوب نامه‌ء الفتك

[16] Ergena (Erkeneh on the maps) is the town, about twenty miles south of Adrianople, on the large Thracian stream that joins the Marizza from the east, and is there crossed by a very long bridge, Jisri-Ergena (Bridge of Ergena) otherwise Uzun-Kyupri (Long Bridge).

عَجَبْ مَنْهَلِ الْعَذْبْ اُولُوبْ خَامَه‌مِزْ اِيرِشْدِى اُوزُونْ گُوپْرِى‌يَه نَامَه‌مِزْ
وَارُوبْ نَامَه‌مِزْ شَهْرِ شَعْبَانْدَه قُدُومْ اَيْلَدِى مَاهِ غُفْرَانْدَه
نَه گُورْدِمْ اُو اَعْجُوبَه‌ء رُوزْگَارْ صَالُوبْ شَالِنِى بَاشِنَه تَارْ و مَارْ
اُوتُورْدِى گَلُوبْ نُوجُوَانْلَرْ گِبِى بِيقْلَرْلَه قَاشْلَرْ كَمَانْلَرْ گِبِى
مِيَانِنْدَه سَيْفِ عَدُوِّ اِنْتِقَامْ وِيرِرْ رُسْتَمِ دَاسْتَانْدَنْ پَيَامْ
اُو سِيمِينْ طَاقِمْ آرْنُودْ پِشْتُوِى يَرِنْدَه هَلَاكْ اِيتْمَكْدَه مَسْقُوِى
كَلَامِى اِيدِى شَاهِدِ بَهْرَه‌سِى آنِى گُرْچَه تَكْذِيبْ اِيدَرْ چِهْرَه‌سِى
خَبَرْدَارِ هَرْ فَنْ اِيدِى طُوغْرِيسِى دِگُلْ صُورَتْ وُ سِيرَتِكْ اُوغْرِيسِى
رَفَاعِيلَرِكْ مُرْشِدِى شَيْخِ كَامِلْ طَرِيقَتْدَه هَادِى خَيْرِ سَبِلْ
فِقَاهَتْ اِيلَه اَيْلَمِشْ اِمْتِزَاجْ وُ لِى صُورَتَا لَابَالِى مِزَاجْ
اُولُوبْ اِيكِى اُوچْ گِيجَه جِكْ مِيهْمَانْ اُوزُونْ گُوپْرِى‌يَه اُولْدِى آخِرْ رَوَانْ
گُورُلْمِشْ دِگُلْ اُويْلَه ذَاتْ وُ صِفَاتْ حَقِيقَتْدَه اَضْحُوكَه‌ء كَائِنَاتْ
گُورْمَزْ آنِكْ بِرْ مِثْلِنْ فَلَكْ نَه مُمْكِنْ گُورُوبْ شَكْلِنِى گُولَمَامَكْ
آنِى گُوشْ اِيدَنْ اَهْلِ عِرْفَانْ كِشِى اَگَرْ يُوقْسَه‌دَه رُومْ اَيْلِيدَه اِيشِى
دَانِشْمَزْ هَمَانْ مِيرْ وُ پَاشَاسِنَه گِيدَرْ اُولْ عَزِيزِكْ تَمَاشَاسِنَه

Mufti of Ergena ;—I'd heard his fame:
" In age, to look smart bachelor, his game ;
His chin and cheeks had ne'er been grac'd with beard ;
'Youthful for ever, then'—his motto heard ;
Fierce janissary like, his turban shawl,
Extinguisher to hide his science all."

Casting in mind this youthful, beardless face,
Desire to see him in my heart took place.

Trusting a ready Mercury to meet,
This tetrastich I wrote the sage to greet:

"Dear Mufti, whiskerless, but learn'd in law;
Of luckless 'Izzet know, with ne'er a flaw,
That he has pin'd for thee, sad, eve and morn,
These months, since Keshān is his jail, forlorn."

A friend just then on journeying intent,
Serv'd as my messenger; my missive went.
My pen, like drinking-fount with waters sweet,
Was welcom'd in its invitation meet.

In Sha'bān's month my billet was sent forth;
In Ramazān he reach'd me from the north.
Great my surprise! A marvel of the age!
His ev'ry turban-fold of hearts a cage!
As bashful youth he took a seat down low;
Moustache and eyebrows, each like archer's bow.
Girded on waist his sword,—our foes' affright,—
Made me conceive 'twas Rustem come to light.
His silver-mounted Arnaut pistols gleam'd,
And Moscow's awe-struck hosts to menace seem'd.
His speech gave evidence of talent keen;
Belied, however, by his fatuous mien.
In troth, well versed he was in ev'ry "art";—
No "crib" of learning, nor from fashion's mart.
A Dervish-Chief,—Rufā'ī's order 'tis
Whose precepts, rites, to teach, to act, were his.
His second nature, equity and law;
Of outward show the world him careless saw.
Two days, or three, he lodg'd with me, a guest;
Departing then, at home he sought his rest.
Ne'er had I met before such garb, such feature;—
A genuine laughing-stock of human nature.
The stars had never twinkl'd on his peer;—
To see him and not smile?—O, never fear!
Should any son of learning, man of taste,

Hear this, though unconcern'd in land of Thrace,
Of Beys and Pashas let him make but light,
And straightway visit this most wond'rous wight.

A "Mufti" is an equivalent to our "Queen's Counsel." One is appointed in every district in Turkey by the Government. It is his duty to furnish all applicants, on payment of the fees, with a written "legal opinion" on any case submitted to him in general terms. He is not a judge of facts. The judge's office is filled by the Qādhi (Cadi), who applies the law, as furnished by the Mufti, to any particular case investigated judicially by himself. It is unusual for the members of the body of the 'Ulemā,—the Learned (*scil.*, in the Law), who are lawyers (not priests—for there are no priests in Islām, where everyone is a priest unto himself), to wear "*shawl*" turbans. They generally wind white muslin sashes round their caps, exchanged for green if they are descended from Muhammad through his daughter Fātima, and sometimes for black, if they belong to certain dervish orders.

Sha'bān is the eighth, Ramazān the ninth lunar month of the canonical year of Islām. During the latter, a strict fast is observed every day from the beginning of the "True Dawn" until sunset. To partake of food, to drink one drop of water, to smoke, take snuff, or even smell at a flower, within the prescribed hours, is sinful, save in cases of travel or sickness. The "False Dawn," which becomes visible before the "True Dawn," is the Zodiacal Light, and must not be heeded for worship-time or fasting.

In all countries of the East, courtesy and etiquette

compel the strictest attention to the place one occupies in sitting down in an assembly. The seat of honour is generally one of the two corners, sometimes the middle, of that end of the room most remote from the entrance door. This custom is alluded to in Luke xiv, 10: "Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee." The etiquette is not observed "at meat" alone, but on all occasions; when even two persons sit down together in a room.

"Rustem" is the Hercules or Roland of Persian mythology. Like "Jack the Giant-killer," he performed wonderful feats in the good old days of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, as is detailed in the "Book of Kings" by Firdawsī. Arnaut means Albanian; and Albanian fire-arms are, as a rule, beautifully inlaid or overlaid with gold or silver work. The Rufā'ī dervishes are those so irreverently mentioned by English travellers as the "Howling Dervishes," from their rite of sitting in circles to ejaculate the name of *Jehovah*, Allāh Hū, اللّٰهُ هُوَ, a great number of times; for which see Lane's "Modern Egyptians."[17]

This is my last selection from the poetry of the Vice-Chancellor on the present occasion. I proceed, therefore, to the impromptu of his son, Fu'ād Pasha, addressed to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

XII.—Impromptu; by Fu'ād Pasha.

(Written in the album of H.R.H. the Princess of Wales.)

[17] Fifth Edition, Murray, London, 1860, p. 456.

صورتك سيرتكك بر آيينهء صافى در
حسن اخلاقك اولور آنده همان جلوه نما
خامه تصويره سنى مقتدر اولسيدى اگر
بشقه بر صورت ايله ايتمز ايدى وصفك ادا

Thy countenance a radiant mirror is, wherein
The fairest beauties of the mind resplendent glow.
Could artist's pencil truly paint thy crowning worth,
No other semblance would the charming picture show.

Comment is needless as to the sense. But an agreeable play is made upon the word which I have rendered by "countenance" and "semblance," literally meaning *form*. A lady's *form* or figure, and a lawyer's *form* for a will, &c., might be made into a similar pun by a competent artist.

XIII.—To a Lady, with the writer's photograph.

فراق خاكپايك بولديغم گون جاندن ايرلدم
آنكچون شمدى تصوير تن بيروحمى گوندردم

With mortal pang I tore myself that morn from thee,
Corporeally;—my willing heart remain'd behind.
This effigy, inanimate, memento-wise,
Accept thou now;—me shall it serve to keep in mind.

This and the following piece, No. 14, the last of my present collection, were lately given me by a friend, their respective authors being unknown to him. In the second hemistich above, an ingenious little verbal artifice is carried through, that is quite lost in my paraphrase. By the peculiar arrangement

selected for the original words that signify respectively, "*effigy*," "*body*," and "*inanimate*," the poet has managed, not really saying so, to make it appear that his body had become lifeless, the "inanimate" thing being, of course, the photograph. The suggestion so cleverly made is, "Away from thee I am dead; therefore I now send an effigy of my lifeless corpse."

XIV.—Epitaph on an Officer killed in battle.

قانمله یازدم عرشه بسالتلی نامی
طولدردم اشته خون شهادتله جامی
یاره چیچکلریله دوناتدم وجودمی
سیر ایلسون وطن یکیتلری عدنه خرامی

My proud name I've recorded in blood
Upon History's scroll of the brave;
In the cause of my country my life
As a martyr I gloriously gave.
Though my corse, deck'd with wounds as its flow'rs,
Lies now mouldering 'neath the green sward,
All my comrades' firm hearts are consol'd,—
For they know I've gain'd Heav'n as reward.

Having thus concluded my self-imposed task of combating the notion that the Turks "have never had poets," I have only to beg permission to call the attention of my readers to the fact that a *paraphrase* is not a *translation*. In the foregoing pieces I have given the spirit rather than the letter of the originals, whenever the matter, or the metre, or the rhyme, appeared to me so to require. In thus acting, my trust is that I have not irretrievably damaged,

to English minds, the beautiful productions of Eastern genius which I have endeavoured to make intelligible to my countrymen.

P.S.—Since penning the foregoing remarks, an instance has occurred which seems to demonstrate the common good sense of, I hope, the generality of Englishmen, in presupposing the existence of Turkish poetry. It has taken, however, the rather hazardous form of further preopining that a foreigner can put an English epigram into a presentable form of Turkish verse. At our public schools it is customary, as is well known, to exercise boys in making Latin and Greek verses. Could the old Romans and Athenians look over these productions, smiles would probably be observable on their features. This practice, however, presumably led my correspondent to propose the task to me. It gratified me more than the total denial of the "learned and talented Lord" had surprised me. I did my best, therefore, to meet the wish; and thence has resulted the following, my first, as it probably will be my last, attempt at Turkish versification. I will not guarantee the correctness of the metre, but the sense I will answer for. Poets will, peradventure, overlook my shortcoming out of regard for my motive.

On the Accession of Pope Leo XIII.
(An Epigram after S. Malachi.)

Through the Cross on Cross of Pius,
As through Mary's Dolours Seven,
Lo! from Death what Life emerges,
Joy from Anguish, Light from Heaven.

اون اوچنجی لِیّو نامیله پاپالق مسندینه بو دفعه قعود ایتمش ذاتك
قدومنه دائر تقریبا بیك یوزقرق سکز سنه ٔ میلادیه سنده کویا مالاخی
نام عزیزك کرامة انبا ایلدیکی اشارتك ترجمه ٔ منظومه‌سی در

چَکْمِشْ مَرْیَمْ اَنَا دَرْدْلَرِینِی یَدِی
بِرْدَه پِیّو پَاپَا چَارْمِیخْ بَرْ چَارْمِیخِی
اولومدن سبر ایله نه حیاتلر چِیقدِی
غَمْدَنْ مَسَرَّتْ آسْمَانْدَنْ هَمْ نُورْ گَلْدِی

J. W. REDHOUSE.

LONDON, *December*, 1878.

ON AN UNRECORDED EVENT IN THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

BY E. W. BRABROOK, F.S.A.

(Read February 26th, 1879.)

I AM persuaded that anything relating to the career of the distinguished author of "Utopia" must possess particular interest for the Royal Society of Literature. Practically, he has had but two original biographers, his son-in-law Roper, and his descendant, Cresacre More. Subsequent biographers have derived their main facts from the materials afforded by these. As I believe that I have come across a fact to which neither of these biographers makes the slightest reference, I hope I may be permitted to make it known to the Society.

Neither Roper nor Cresacre More is a scientific biographer. It is extremely difficult by their means to get at the precise dates and sequence of events. More was born in February, 1478,[1] educated at St. Anthony's School in Threadneedle Street, brought up as a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, sent by his patron to Canterbury College, Oxford,

[1] This date was established by Mr. W. Aldys Wright in "Notes and Queries," 17 Oct., 1868, by extracts from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. See Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers." Appx. c. It is confirmed by the statement in the Lambeth MS. 179, that when More was elected to Parliament he was of the age of 26 or 27.

and in 1503 obtained a seat in Parliament. The precise dates of the intervening steps are not stated.

He became a member of New Inn, an Inn of Chancery, and thence in the usual course he proceeded to Lincoln's Inn, then as now one of the four great Inns of Court. Both biographers enlarge on his attachment to that learned Society. Cresacre More says that "while he was at Lincoln's Inn his whole mind was set on his book. For his allowance his father kept him very short, suffering him scarcely to have so much money in his own custody as would pay for the mending of his apparel; which course he would often speak of with praise in his riper years."

From the Black Book of Lincoln's Inn, an unimpeachable record, it appears that he became a member of that Society in 1496, when he was of the early age of 18. "In little time he attained to that degree which his elders in many years' study could not achieve—to be an utter barrister. Now is the common law of this realm so intricate, various and obscure as it would require a whole and entire man all his lifetime, or most part thereof, to come to any excellency therein. After this, by the whole bench of Lincoln's Inn, it was thought meet to make him reader in Furnival's Inn, wherein he spent three years and more to great profit of divers."[2] He married his first wife in 1505, at the age of 27. Roper says of him that, notwithstanding his marriage, he never the more discontinued his study of the law at Lincoln's Inn, but applied himself still

[2] MS. at Lambeth Palace, 179. See Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography."

to the same till he was called to the Bench and had read there twice. His call to the Bench and first reading at Lincoln's Inn took place in 1511, the year of his first wife's death, when he was 33 years old. His second reading took place in 1516, when he was 38.

These dates are complicated by the statement made by both biographers, that he spent four years in seclusion "in" (C. More says "near") the Charterhouse, without taking vows—a kind of prolonged retreat, which, I suspect, is exaggerated either in duration or severity. At what period of his history are we to fit in this long parenthesis? If anywhere, it must be between his entry at Lincoln's Inn in 1496 and his election to Parliament: though the writer of the MS. in Lambeth Palace signed "Ro. Ba." says it was after his reading at Furnival's Inn, which, if it lasted three years, would bring us at least to 1502. In 1497, Erasmus made his acquaintance and writes in glowing terms about his accomplishments. On December 5 in that year, after eulogising the learning of Colet, Grocyn, and Linacre[3] he says: "nor did nature ever form anything more elegant, exquisite, and better accomplished than More." Such terms as these, used of a boy of 19, in comparison with others greatly his seniors, must convince every one of the remarkable qualities he possessed.

There is no room for the four years' seclusion after the time when this "beardless boy," in his place in Parliament, defeated the King's application for an aid of three-fifteenths on the marriage of

[3] Foss, "Lives of the Judges," V. 205.

his daughter Margaret with the King of Scots. The bill was introduced in the Session of 1504, and More "used such arguments and reasons thereagainst, that the King's demands were thereby clean overthrown."[4] As More was married in 1505, the residence in the Charterhouse cannot have been consequent on the disfavour at Court which his action in this matter had incurred.

It cannot have happened during his first marriage, which his biographers declare to have been most happy, and which was terminated by the death of his wife in 1511. Nor is there any subsequent period of his biography into which we can fit these four years, for on September 3rd, 1510, he was made Under-Sheriff of London. He held that office, which involved the duties of Judge of the Sheriff's Court, continuously, until he entered the King's service. It is simply impossible that he should have spent any of the time in retreat from the world. Roper himself, speaking of this time in More's life, says, "I have heard him say that, by his office of Under-Sheriff and his learning together, he gained without grief not so little as £400 by the year" a sum equivalent to ten times as much now. "There was, at that time, in none of the Prince's Courts of the Laws of the Realm any matter of importance in controversy wherein he was not with the one party of counsel. For his learning, wisdom, and knowledge, men had him in such estimation, that before he was come to the service of King Henry VIII, at the suit and instance of the English merchants, he was by the King's consent made twice

[4] Roper.

Ambassador in certain great causes between them and the merchants of the Steelyard, whose wise and discreet dealing therein, to his high commendation, coming to the King's understanding, provoked his Highness to cause Cardinal Wolsey to procure him to his service."

Entries in the records of the City of London enable us to fix a date for these two Embassies. On May 8th, 1514, it was agreed by the Common Council "that Thomas More, gentleman, one of the Under-Sheriffs of London, should occupy his office and chamber by a sufficient deputy, during his absence as the King's Ambassador in Flanders."[5] A similar licence was granted to him in 1515.[6] The citizens describe him as Ambassador of the King, but if Roper's description is to be trusted, he was rather the representative (acting with the King's consent) of the London merchants.

However that may be, I cannot help thinking that his experience of the occupation of an Ambassador on this his first mission in May 1514, and some ambition to distinguish himself in that career[7] led to his taking the step which neither of his biographers refers to, and the evidence of which I have accidentally met with, of enrolling himself among the professors of Civil Law, which, being the law

[5] Sir J. Mackintosh, "Life of More," pp. 18, 109.

[6] Foss, p. 209.

[7] It is true that the biographers say, "he neither desired nor liked to be employed in such offices, for he was wont to say, he liked not to be banished from his own country; and he would merrily say, that there was a great difference between a layman and a priest to be sent in ambassage, for a priest need not to be disquieted for wife, children, and family" (Lambeth MS., 179, p. 203); but the fact remains that he was often sent ambassador, and justifies the language of the text.

Ego T. Morus 3° die decembris 8° A christo nato
1514to Admissus sū in hanc societatē et pollicor
me solutūrū in Annos singulos. s. 6. d. 8.

practised in continental countries, was a necessary study for an Ambassador, by becoming a member of the Society of Advocates, commonly called Doctors' Commons.

The register and obligation book of that Society from the 15th century to its dissolution in our own time consists of a single volume, now in the fitting custody of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace. It forms one of the most valuable collections of autographs, as well as one of the most interesting historical records, anywhere to be met with. I should like to say, in passing, how much it is to be wished that my learned friend, Mr. Coote, would undertake the editing of this volume, and thus complete the work attempted with so much success by his distinguished father, Dr. Coote, in his privately printed "Sketches of the Lives and Characters of eminent English Civilians." (London, 1804.)

This book contains the following entry, of which I exhibit a tracing :—

> "Ego T. Morus, 3° die decembris a° a Christo nato 1514to, admissus sū in hanc societatē et pollicitor me solutūr, in annis singulis, s. 6, d. 8."

This was the obligation signed by each member of Doctors' Commons on his admission to the College, binding him to the observance of the rules and the annual payment of 6*s.* 8*d.*, a sum which, if we take it to be equivalent to three guineas in our own day, serves to show that the Society of Advocates was a very inexpensive club to belong to. They met then, I suppose, at the original house in

Paternoster Row, where Dean Bodewelle first organised them.

If the T. Morus in the entry I have read was the then Under-Sheriff of London and future Chancellor, freshly returned from his first successful mission to Flanders, warm in the recollection of the delightful intimacies he had formed there with the learned jurists and civilians of the Continent, I am not surprised that he should make it his business to seek membership of the Society of Professors of the Civil Law in this country, the more so that, according to the custom of those times, they were the persons who, for obvious reasons, were most usually selected as Ambassadors or to accompany Embassies.

The strangeness of the omission of this is the more marked, that both biographers refer, as a turning point in More's fortunes, to his successful resistance to the King's claim for the forfeiture of a ship belonging to the Pope, which had been seized at Southampton.[8] The trial took place in the Star Chamber, it would seem, but it is so obviously analogous to an action *in rem* in the Court of Admiralty that one can hardly think otherwise than that More was counsel in the case because he was a person qualified to plead in the Admiralty Court as being a member of Doctors' Commons.[9] Though, in this instance, More was counsel against the King, yet we are told "the erudition which he displayed, and his powerful arguments in the cause, so pleased the

[8] Foss, *loc. cit.*, 211.

[9] "The Pope's ambassador then resident in the realm, upon suit got a grant of the king to retain for his master some learned in the laws and customs of the realm. Among all the lawyers, choice was made of Mr. More as one not partial and very skilful in these affairs." Lambeth MS

King that he would listen to no further excuses, but at once retained More in his service," and he was sworn in a member of the Privy Council. This took place in May 1522, and he was at the same time rewarded with a grant of manors and lands.

About this time, too, the biographers say that he was made Master of the Requests.[10] The Court of Requests had been instituted either in the reign of Henry VII. or Henry VIII. and was, according to Mr. Foss,[11] "something similar to the Court of Chancery, but for matters of minor importance." Having assumed too great powers, and been found to be burdensome to the people, it was dissolved by Stat. 16 and 17 Car. I. c. 10. In the course of its existence, however, its masters were usually—like the Masters in Chancery of that time—either ecclesiastics or ecclesiastical lawyers, and the circumstance that he held this office seems to confirm the inference, notwithstanding the silence of the biographers, that he was really a member of Doctors' Commons.

As a member of Lincoln's Inn myself, I heartily sympathise with the biographers in the warmth with which they describe Sir Thomas More's affection for the Society of which he became a member so early in life and to which he always displayed the most devoted attachment. That Society may well be proud of him as one of its noblest members and one of the purest and brightest characters in English annals. Yet it is odd that the biographers should not have recorded the fact that he belonged to

[10] Less than a month before his being made a Privy Councillor and knighted, says the author of the Lambeth MS., 179.

[11] V. 83.

another society of jurists, and that his membership of it qualified him for those missions in which he gained most renown and those forensic triumphs which contributed most to his favour with his Prince. As an Equity Judge he won the high commendation embodied in the jingling verses —

"When More some years had Chancellor been,
No more suits did remain;
The like shall never more be seen,
Till More be there again."

But it is not only in the practice of Equity, but in that of International Law, that he gained laurels. Moreover, he always showed a marked predilection for the other branch of law cultivated at Doctors' Commons, viz.: Ecclesiastical Law. His mind was tinged with a shade of superstition. His birth is said to have been attended with portents. However that may be, he was all his life very much addicted to the study of ecclesiastical subjects, and a large portion of his voluminous works is devoted to topics either of ecclesiastical law or of devotion. It is true he could not become an ecclesiatic, because he was not only a married man with a family, but also a bigamist, in the sense in which the canonists used the term, that is, he had married a second wife after the death of the first.

I have already pointed out the coincidence of the entry in the Doctors' Commons book with his return from his first mission to Flanders. His second embassy took place in 1515, also to Flanders. In April 1520 he was one of four commissioners to settle provisions in the Treaty of Commerce with Charles V; and in June of the same year one of

those to accommodate certain questions with the "Socios of the Hanse Towns. He appears from his correspondence with Erasmus to have been for a long time stationed at Calais for the convenience of continental negociations. He accompanied Wolsey in his ostentatious embassy to France in 1527; and it was probably on this occasion that the Cardinal, on asking him to point out anything that was objectionable in the Treaty he had prepared, flew into a rage because More ventured to suggest some amendment, concluding his violence by saying 'By the Mass, thou art the veriest fool in all the Council.' More, smiling, answered simply, 'God be thanked the King our master hath but one fool in his Council.' His last mission was two years afterwards (1529) to Cambray in conjunction with his old friend Bishop Tunstall, as Ambassador to the Emperor."[12]

Such was his career as a diplomatist, and I venture to think it affords confirmation of the fact pointed at by the entry in the Doctors' Commons book that he associated himself at the outset of it with the recognised body of Professors of Civil Law. If this fact, now for the first time, so far as I know, made public, be taken to be established, as I think it must be, by the considerations I have adduced, we get thrown into strong light the many sidedness of More's character.[13]

[12] Foss, *sub nom.*

[13] The ingenious anonymous author of a work called "Philomorus" (London, 1878) says with great force :—"One of the remarkable traits in Sir Thomas More's character was the vigour of his mind and the faculty which he possessed of exercising it upon a very wide range of subjects. He would lecture in the church of St. Lawrence upon the treatise *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine; administer law to the citizens of London in

I may illustrate this by a quotation from his best known work the "Utopia," where he speaks of the principles of toleration laid down by Utopus. "He made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion; and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery. This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine anything rashly: and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with this variety; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if

the capacity of Under-Sheriff; write smart epigrams upon the follies and absurdities which he saw around him; turn a debate in the House of Commons; arrange questions of international law with the Flemish merchants of Bruges; write despatches to Wolsey and others when acting as the King's secretary; charm with his ready wit the supper table of the King and Queen Katharine; write theological treatises against Tyndale and Luther; and discharge the duties of his office as Chancellor with assiduity and skill."

supported only by the strength of argument and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind; while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns; he therefore left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they should see cause," only drawing the line at absolute materialism.

That the author of sentiments so lofty and catholic (in the best sense of the word) as these should be a man who, by his own confession, imprisoned and beat Protestants, and who died for the worst of all possible causes—that of the re-establishment of the Pope's authority in this country[14]—is so strange an inconsistency that his being at the same time a civilian and a common lawyer is small beside it. It was said of Dr. Thomas Ryves, Advocate-General to Charles I, that he "understood the Common Law as well as his own." Of More, I take it, the converse might be said—that he understood the Civil Law as well as his own Common Law.

If the cause for which he died was a bad one, the putting him to death for it was infinitely worse. There is no story in our annals more melancholy than that of his trial. He was arraigned on four charges, not one of which amounted even to a misdemeanour.

[14] The Lambeth MS. 179, calls him "the protomartyr of England in the degree of the laity that suffered for the defence of the union of the Catholic Church." The offence for which the King resolved to put him to death was, no doubt, his opposition to the King's marriage; that of which he was convicted by Rich's evidence was his denial of the King's supremacy.

Nothing worthy of the name of evidence was adduced even in support of these, for no candid mind could accept Rich's perjuries in the face of More's indignant denial. Yet, on this unsubstantial charge, which would have been no crime if proved, but was not proved at all, a British jury retired for 15 minutes, and then brought in a verdict of "guilty," and the fiendish sentence then awarded to those convicted of treason was passed in due form, though afterwards commuted to beheading. His only crime was differing in opinion from King Henry the Eighth, and if the King called that treason, treason it was so far as the jury were concerned. The particular opinion which he held and for which he died—that God had made the Pope head of the Church and that therefore the English Parliament could not put Henry in that place—was false enough, for it implied a denial of the rights of the nation to self-government and of the individual to free thought: but, though he was wrong and Henry right on the theoretical question at issue, any one who had the choice would rather occupy the place in history filled by Thomas More than that devoted to his murderer.

E. W. BRABROOK.

WHAT IS POETRY?

BY GEORGE WASHINGTON MOON.

(Read April 23, 1879.)

In the following paper there is little that is original except the poetry. I merely bring before you the opinions of the writers best qualified to answer the question, "What is poetry?" and endeavour to illustrate those opinions by a few original compositions for which I claim your kind indulgence, poetry not being my forte, though it is one of my greatest delights.

"What is poetry?" is a question which has often been asked; and many are the brief definitions of it that have been given: each expressing some phase or quality of it, but none comprehensive enough to embrace the whole.

It is as difficult briefly to answer the question "What is poetry?" as it would be, in a few words, to define "life," or "truth," or "beauty;" for poetry may be said to be all these.

There must be "life" in that which we call poetry, or it is unworthy of the name. It may be quiet life, or be life heroic; but there must be life, there must be soul, or it is

"Words, mere words."

So, also, there must be in it "truth," not necessa-

rily truth of narrative as to facts; it may be fact, or it may be fiction; that is immaterial; but in its every utterance it must be true to Nature, true to the essential characteristics of that which it describes.

And as to its third element, "beauty," this is as necessarily and inalienably a part of all poetry, as is either "life" or "truth." Were I asked to personify poetry, I should say that "truth" is its body; "life" is its very soul; and "beauty" is its bright adornment.

"Poetry," says Campbell, "is the eloquence of truth."

"Poetry," says Ebenezer Elliott, "is impassioned truth."

"Poetry," says a writer in the "Eclectic Review," "is love, pure, refined, insatiable affection for the beautiful—for the beautiful forms of this material universe, for the beautiful feelings of the human soul, for the beautiful passages in the history of the past, for the beautiful prospects which expand before us in the future.

"Such love, burning to passion, attired in imagery and speaking in music, is the essence and the soul of poetry. It is that which makes personification the life of poetry. The poet looks upon Nature, not as one who is merely a philosopher looks upon it, regarding it as composed of certain abstractions, certain cold material laws—the poet breathes upon them, and they quicken into personal life, and become objects, as it were, of personal attachment." The winds with him are not cold currents of air, they are messengers of love, now bearing on their wings the mighty clouds to refresh the parched earth, and anon

wafting the incense of the flowers to some object of their adoration.

To the Hebrew poet, David, the thunder was not a noise produced by the concussion of the atmosphere. He regarded it, truly, as an effect caused by the lightning; but what was that effect? He says:—"His lightnings enlightened the world; *the earth saw, and trembled.*" This is true poetry.

The stars may be distant worlds, but to the poet they are something more than that; they are eyes looking down on man, with intelligence, with sympathy and with love: he sings of them thus:—calling them

EYES OF LOVE.

The sunny smile of day is past,
  The flowers close their lovely eyes,
The song of birds is hushed at last,
  And all the scene in slumber lies;
But 'midst the deep'ning shades of night
  There shine, through drifting clouds above,
Glad stars whose beauteous souls of light
  Beam brightly forth through eyes of love.

And so, when grief's night gathers o'er,
  And life's sweet joys, like flowers sleep,
And hope's glad song is heard no more,
  And shadows round our path lie deep;
How often through the gloom of night
  There shineth, as from heaven above,
Some star whose beauteous soul of light
  Beams kindly forth through eyes of love.

G. W. M.

To the poet, creation has a *conscious* existence.

Never is Nature mute; each leafy bower
Has gentle speech the poet's soul can hear.
Yes, the rich perfume of each beauteous flower,
Is the sweet eloquence of love most dear.
There is a language in the dew-drop's tear;
There is expression in each herb and tree;
There's harmony in heaven's starry sphere,
And on the earth, and in the bounding sea;
For Nature's heart, Great GOD, doth ever worship THEE.

The lordly mountains sleeping in the sun;
The lowly mosses lying at their feet;
The sturdy oaks with ivy over-run;
And the frail bind-weed round a stalk of wheat;
Yea, all things, from the orb whose light and heat
Make flowers of beauty from the world to rise,
To the small dew-drops which the flowers greet
As sister-spirits from the starry skies,
All worship HIM whose love their daily life supplies.

The gentle murmur of each rippling rill,
The roar of torrents rushing to the main;
The wind's lone wailings over vale and hill,
The dew's soft footfall on the grassy plain,
The sigh of autumn leaves, the sound of rain,
And deep-toned thunder with its awful chime;
All are but grace-notes in an anthem's strain
From Nature's wild æolian harp sublime,
Sounding GOD'S ceaseless praise throughout the course of time.

G. W. M.

"This perpetual personification springs from that principle of love which teaches the poet not only to regard all men as his brethren, but to regard the whole earth as his home, and to throw the excess of his soul into dumb, deaf and dead things, and to find

even in them, subjects of his sympathy. It was in this spirit that poor Burns did not disdain to address, as his fellow-mortal, the mouse running from his ploughshare; and to express his sympathy for the ill-fated daisy which the same ploughshare destroyed, or rather, transplanted into the garden of never-dying song."

One of the most sublime personifications of inanimate nature that we have in our language is Coleridge's Address to Mont Blanc; indeed, it is in its personification that the secret of its thrilling interest lies.

Poetry is language in its highest attainable perfection, winning the ear by the harmony of its cadence, warming the heart by the glow of its diction, stimulating thought by the grandeur of its imagery, and commanding the passions in the dignity of its march.

"Poetry," says Shelley, "is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds. Poetry makes immortal all that is best and most beautiful in the world. Poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man. Poetry turns all things to loveliness; it exalts the beauty of that which is most beautiful, and it adds beauty to that which is most deformed. It transmutes all that it touches; and every form moving within the radiance of its presence is changed by wondrous sympathy to an incarnation of the spirit which it breathes."

"Poetry," says Hazlitt, "is the universal language with which the heart holds converse with Nature and with itself. Wherever there is a sense of beauty, or power, or harmony, as in the motion of a wave of the

sea, or in the growth of a flower that 'spreads its sweet leaves to the air, and dedicates its beauty to the sun' —there is poetry in its birth."

"Poetry," says Wordsworth, "is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science."

"No man," says Coleridge, "was ever yet a great poet without being, at the same time, a profound philosopher; for poetry is the blossom and the fragrance of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions, and language."

"There is," says the late Henry Reed, "no great philosopher in whose genius imagination is not an active element; and there is no great poet into whose character the philosophic element does not largely enter."

Willmott says:—"Whatever of beautiful, instructive or alluring, belongs to philosophy, history or fiction, is wrapped up in poetry. Poetry multiplies and refines our pleasures, endears loneliness, embellishes the common, and irradiates the lovely. It is the natural religion of literature; and next to the beauty of its language is the charm of its voice."

Poetry makes love to the ear, and wins the heart by its music; for the sympathy of its melodies thrills the finest chords of our being, making them vibrate in harmony with the song, till the heart is carried away captive by the ecstasy of its own feelings. But poetry, to reach the heart, must come from the heart. From such a source came the following lines:—

THE LOVERS.

The silvery moonlight, chequered by the trees,
  Falls, as in worship, dearest, at thy feet;
And, with the breath of flowers, the evening breeze
  Wafts to us distant music, low and sweet
  As the sweet voice of love. In this retreat,
So calm and peaceful, let me, dearest, own
  My heart's deep love, and hear thy lips repeat
Those words more sweet than music's sweetest tone,
Telling my loving heart that thou art mine alone.

Thy beauteous eyes—love's messengers to me—
  Look into mine and read love's language there.
And, as I kiss thee, our hearts seem to be
  Mingling their very life's-blood in one prayer
For love, more love! Oh, ever thus to share,
  Each other's fond affection, and to feel,
That neither time nor death itself can e'er
  Dissolve the union of our souls, or seal
The fountain of that love we each to each reveal.

G. W. M.

"The poet is a translator of the inner life of man, with its wonder-world of thoughts and feelings—its unspeakable love and sorrow, its hopes and aspirations, temptations and lonely wrestlings, darings and doubts, grim passions and gentle affections, its smiles and tears—which in their changeful lights or gloomy grandeur play out the great drama of the human heart."[1]

Coleridge, speaking of poetry, says, in the closing paragraph of the preface to his Poems:—"I expect neither profit nor general fame by my writings; and

[1] "North British Review," No. 55.

I consider myself as being amply repaid without either. Poetry has been to me its own exceeding great reward; it has soothed my afflictions, it has multiplied and refined my enjoyments, it has endeared solitude, and it has given me the habit of wishing to discover the good and the beautiful in all that meets and surrounds me."

"Such," says Symington, "is also the experience of every sincere lover of poetry; for to all who are capable of appreciating its fairest flowers, whether by the golden river of Shakspeare's thought, broad and deep, or by the crystal well of Burns, it is an influence for good—'a thing of beauty,' and therefore 'a joy for ever.'

"Its ministrations to whatever is noblest, brightest, and best in humanity, whether in sorrow or in joy, are only second in their universality and efficiency to the teachings of Christianity itself, and are never more winning or potent than when conjoined therewith; for 'religion,' it has been said, 'exhibits the beauty of holiness; and poetry the holiness of beauty.'"

There is in "Rasselas" an admirable dissertation upon poetry, showing very truthfully the studies necessary to enable the Poet to give expression to the exalted feelings of his nature. The passage is as follows:—

"Wherever I went," says Imlac, "I found that poetry was considered as the highest learning, and regarded with a veneration somewhat approaching to that which man would pay to the angelic nature. . . . I was desirous to add my name to this illustrious fraternity. I read all the poets of Persia and Arabia,

and was able to repeat from memory the volumes that are suspended in the mosque of Mecca. But I soon found that no man was ever great by imitation. My desire of excellence impelled me to transfer my attention to Nature and to life. Nature was to be my subject, and men to be my auditors. I could never describe what I had not seen ; I could not hope to move those with delights or with terror whose interests and opinions I did not understand.

"Being now resolved to be a poet, I saw everything with a new purpose ; my sphere of attention was suddenly magnified ; no kind of knowledge was to be overlooked. I ranged mountains and deserts for images and resemblances, and pictured upon my mind every tree of the forest and flower of the valley. I observed with equal care the crags of the rock and the pinnacles of the palace. Sometimes I wandered along the mazes of the rivulet, and sometimes watched the changes of the summer clouds. To a poet, nothing can be useless. Whatever is beautiful, and whatever is dreadful, must be familiar to his imagination ; he must be conversant with all that is awfully vast or elegantly little. The plants of the garden, and the meteors of the sky must all concur to store his mind with inexhaustible variety ; for every idea is useful for the enforcement or for the decoration of moral or of religious truth ; and he who knows most will have most power of diversifying his scenes, and of gratifying his readers with remote allusions and unexpected instruction.

"All the appearances of Nature I was therefore careful to study, and every country which I have

surveyed has contributed something to my poetical powers."

"In so wide a survey," said the Prince, "you must surely have left much unobserved; for I have lived till now within the circuit of these mountains, and yet cannot walk abroad without the sight of something which I had never before beheld, or never heeded."

"The business of the poet," said Imlac, "is to examine not the individual but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances. He does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest. He is to exhibit in his portraits of Nature such prominent and striking features as recall the original to every mind, and must neglect the minuter discriminations which one may have remarked and another have neglected, for those characteristics which are alike obvious to vigilance and to carelessness.

"But the knowledge of Nature is only half the task of the poet: he must be acquainted with all the modes of life. His character requires that he estimate the happiness and misery of every condition, observe the power of all the passions in all their combinations, and trace the changes of the human mind as they are modified by various institutions, and accidental influences of climate or custom, from the sprightliness of infancy to the despondency of decrepitude. He must divest himself of the prejudices of his age or country; he must consider right and wrong in their abstracted and invariable state; he must disregard present laws and opinions, and

rise to general and transcendental truths which will always be the same. He must, therefore, content himself with the slow progress of his name, contemn the applause of his own time, and commit his claims to the justice of posterity. He must write as the interpreter of Nature and the legislator of mankind, and consider himself as presiding over the thoughts and manners of future generations, as a being superior to time and place.

"His labour is not yet at an end: he must know many languages and many sciences; and, that his style may be worthy of his thoughts, must, by incessant practice, familiarise to himself every delicacy of speech and grace of harmony."

Such was Dr. Johnson's opinion of what is necessary for the education of a poet. The standard which Coleridge fixed is equally high. He says, in a letter to Cottle:—"Observe the march of Milton; his severe application, his laborious polish; his deep metaphysical research, his prayer to GOD before he began his great work. All that could lift and swell his great work became his daily food. I should not think," says Coleridge, "of devoting less than twenty years to an epic poem; ten years to collect materials and warm my mind with universal science: I would be a tolerable mathematician; I would thoroughly understand mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, and astronomy; botany, metallurgy, fossilism, chemistry, geology, anatomy, medicine; the mind of man in all travels, voyages, and histories; so I would spend ten years. The next five I would spend in the composition of the poem, and the last five in the correction of it. So would I write, haply

not unhearing of that divine and mighty whispering voice which speaks to mighty minds of predestined garlands, starry and unwithering."

But a knowledge of the sciences must not be obtruded to the forefront in poetry; it must ever be in subjection to the beautiful: to which it bows, just as the chivalrous knight-errant of the Middle Ages bowed in willing subjection to the lady of his love.

In the following simple little poem are remote scientific allusions to the crystallization of water, to the nebulosity of certain stars, and to the facts that sound is owing to the vibration of the atmosphere, and that light flows to us in waves; but all is in subjection to the spirituality of the poem.

THE MERCIES OF GOD.

"His tender mercies are over all His works."—*Ps.* cxlv, 9.

Wouldst thou count all the mercies of God?
  Vain the task!—Count the waves of the sea;
Count the grass-blades on every sod,
  And the leaves upon every tree.

Count the atoms that float in the sun;
  Count the bright drops of rain as they fall;
Still, thy task is as yet but begun,
  For God's mercies outnumber them all.

Count the crystals of frost in the snow,
  The vibrations of sound in the air,
And the wavelets of light as they flow;—
  God in mercy appointed them there.

Add the cycles of time unto those
  Of eternity, past and to come;
Count till Heav'n on thine eyes shall unclose,
  And thy lips with mute rapture are dumb.

Then unfold thou thy bright wings and fly
  Wheresoever thy spirit can soar;
Far through space to where starry worlds lie
  Strewn like gems on Infinity's shore.

On, still on, till the deepening blue
  Fades away into blackness of night,
Where no nebulous star's ray e'er threw
  E'en the faintest pulsation of light.

Still, GOD'S universe stretches afar;
  And around thee, beneath, and above,
Though thine eye sees nor sun, moon, or star,
  There is fathomless, infinite love.

We may count the green blades on each sod;
  Count the sound-waves in ocean's hoarse roar;
But, concerning the mercies of GOD,
  We can only in silence adore.

G. W. M.

"A well stored mind," says the Rev. James Pycroft,[2] "is indispensable for poetical composition. Invention means little more than new combinations; and unless the mental kaleidoscope be furnished with many brilliant pieces, no power of genius can ever produce a variety of magic pictures."

"Imagination and invention," says Johnson, "are useless without knowledge; Nature gives in vain the power of combination, unless study and observation supply the materials."

Professor Craik says:[3]—"The greatest poets have all been complete men, with the sense of beauty, indeed, strong and exquisite, and crowning all their

[2] "Ways and Words of Men of Letters," p. 25.
[3] "Manual of English Literature," p. 229.

Never is Nature mute; each leafy bower
Has gentle speech the poet's soul can hear.
Yes, the rich perfume of each beauteous flower,
Is the sweet eloquence of love most dear.
There is a language in the dew-drop's tear;
There is expression in each herb and tree;
There's harmony in heaven's starry sphere,
And on the earth, and in the bounding sea;
For Nature's heart, Great GOD, doth ever worship THEE.

The lordly mountains sleeping in the sun;
The lowly mosses lying at their feet;
The sturdy oaks with ivy over-run;
And the frail bind-weed round a stalk of wheat;
Yea, all things, from the orb whose light and heat
Make flowers of beauty from the world to rise,
To the small dew-drops which the flowers greet
As sister-spirits from the starry skies,
All worship HIM whose love their daily life supplies.

The gentle murmur of each rippling rill,
The roar of torrents rushing to the main;
The wind's lone wailings over vale and hill,
The dew's soft footfall on the grassy plain,
The sigh of autumn leaves, the sound of rain,
And deep-toned thunder with its awful chime;
All are but grace-notes in an anthem's strain
From Nature's wild æolian harp sublime,
Sounding GOD'S ceaseless praise throughout the course of time.

G. W. M.

"This perpetual personification springs from that principle of love which teaches the poet not only to regard all men as his brethren, but to regard the whole earth as his home, and to throw the excess of his soul into dumb, deaf and dead things, and to find

even in them, subjects of his sympathy. It was in this spirit that poor Burns did not disdain to address, as his fellow-mortal, the mouse running from his ploughshare; and to express his sympathy for the ill-fated daisy which the same ploughshare destroyed, or rather, transplanted into the garden of never-dying song."

One of the most sublime personifications of inanimate nature that we have in our language is Coleridge's Address to Mont Blanc; indeed, it is in its personification that the secret of its thrilling interest lies.

Poetry is language in its highest attainable perfection, winning the ear by the harmony of its cadence, warming the heart by the glow of its diction, stimulating thought by the grandeur of its imagery, and commanding the passions in the dignity of its march.

"Poetry," says Shelley, "is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds. Poetry makes immortal all that is best and most beautiful in the world. Poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man. Poetry turns all things to loveliness; it exalts the beauty of that which is most beautiful, and it adds beauty to that which is most deformed. It transmutes all that it touches; and every form moving within the radiance of its presence is changed by wondrous sympathy to an incarnation of the spirit which it breathes."

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"I give my tribute to the mighty sea;
The sea its vapours yields to clouds above;
While clouds descend in grateful show'rs. Thus we,
Giving, receive back from the hand of Love.

"Yes," said the stream, for still it babbled on,
"There is a hidden Power that blesseth all;
O thou whose faith and hope are well-nigh gone,
Do others good, and good to thee shall fall."

I listened,—but the voice no longer spoke;
Nor could I see the sunny glade or stream;
And then I unto consciousness awoke,
And found I'd heard the voices in a dream.

G. W. M.

Lynch[8] says:—"To unite earthly love and celestial, to reconcile time and eternity, to harmonise our instinctive longings for the definite and the infinite in the ideal perfect, to read creation as a book of the human heart both plain and mystical and divinely written; such is the office fulfilled by the best-loved poets.

"Their ladder of celestial ascent is fixed on earth as its base, and its top rests securely on heaven, for they make the ordinary circumstances of daily life a trellis-work over which they train a flowerage of thought blossoming in sentiment, fair and odorous for the health, as well as a pleasure of the eye and of the soul, which is thus lifted in loving praise to the AUTHOR of all beauty.

"The strains of poetry are parts and presage of universal harmony. It still refines its disciples, but strengthens as it refines. It stirs to activity, and

[8] The author of "The Memorials of Theophilus Trinal," &c.

supplies repose. It has its psalms solemn as stars, and its songs light as thistledown."

Here is one of such songs—a serenade :—

SLEEPING AND DREAMING OF LOVE AND DELIGHT.

A Serenade.

Moonlight in beauty falls
O'er the old castle walls;
Hushed is sweet Nature's voice,
Yet doth her heart rejoice.
Silence, itself, seemeth sleeping to-night,
Sleeping and dreaming of love and delight.

Thou, too, O maiden fair,
Haloed with golden hair,
Slumber thine eyes hath sealed,
Yet is their love revealed.
Beauty's own self is entrancéd to-night,
Sleeping and dreaming of love and delight.

Let my song's music be
Lost in thine ecstasy,
Yet let it softly swell,
Lest it should break the spell.
Beauty and Silence, twin sleepers to-night,
Sleeping and dreaming of love and delight.

G. W. M.

Here is a song of a different spirit; for the poet must be a man of all moods. He must be able to write not only songs which have a voice gentle as the evening zephyr, but also songs with a voice sonorous as the blast of a trumpet;—songs of war and of defiance, as well as songs of peace and love.

THE LAND OF FREEDOM.

Lo! from England's sea-girt ramparts
Freedom's banner proudly waves,
Foes may hurl their hosts against her;
Smiling, she their fury braves,
GOD is her defence! Her watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"
(CHORUS) GOD is our defence! Our watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"

Freedom doth her sons ennoble;
Servitude her serfs depraves.
This *our* glory—we are free-men!
Free, for GOD our country saves.
GOD is our defence! Our watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"
(CHORUS) GOD is our defence! Our watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"

Hark! as with the voice of ocean
Thundering in mighty caves,
Englishmen, to threatening tyrants,
Send defiance o'er the waves.
GOD is their defence! Their watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"
(CHORUS) GOD is our defence! Our watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"

By the ashes of our fathers,
By the love their memory craves,
By their life's-blood shed for freedom,
We will fill no cowards' graves.
GOD is our defence! Our watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"
(CHORUS) GOD is our defence! Our watchword—
"Britons never shall be slaves!"

G. W. M.

I began this paper by stating that it is as difficult briefly to answer the question, "What is poetry?" as it would be in a few words to define life, or truth, or beauty.

I quoted Campbell's opinion, that "poetry is the eloquence of truth;" I told you that Ebenezer Elliott calls it "impassioned truth;" that Shelley says it is "the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds;" that Hazlitt says "it is the universal language with which the heart holds converse with Nature and with itself;" that Wordsworth calls it "the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge;" and that Coleridge says "it is the blossom and the fragrance of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions and language."

I showed you that one of its chief characteristics is personification, and one of its essential qualities is simplicity of language combined with dignity of thought and wealth of expression.

I quoted Dr. Johnson's opinion as to the necessary qualifications of a poet, and supported that opinion by a quotation from the writings of Coleridge, showing that though it is undoubtedly true that the poet, as such, is born, not made, yet if his writings are to be a power on the earth, there must be superadded to his natural endowments a wide-spread knowledge of Nature and of man.

I spoke of the extensive range of poetry, that it has "its psalms solemn as stars, and its songs light as thistledown." I gave an example of one of the latter, and I will, with your permission, now conclude this paper by giving you one of the former. It is

the introduction to an epic poem of mine entitled "Elijah the Prophet," and is an attempt to describe the awakening of Nature at sunrise, and the influence of the voice of nature on the heart of the poet.

ELIJAH THE PROPHET.

Invocation.

One lovely star still lingers in the sky,
As if entranced in worship at God's throne;
Unconscious that the blissful moments fly,
And she, so beauteous, shineth there alone.
Her heaving jewelled breast to earth makes known
The trembling love that lureth her to stay,
And God's great goodness rapturously own;
But, gently roused by morning's earliest ray,
Her brow of light she veils from sight, and steals away.

Still gazing up with earnest eyes to trace
The silvery path that star of morn is taking;
I see in brilliant azure heights of space,
Fair fleecy clouds from softest slumbers waking,
As if the waves of light o'er heaven breaking
Had dashed the blue with foam. No longer cold
The glorious scene appears; for day is making
The beauteous sky its varied tints unfold,
While sunbeams, with Ithuriel touch, turn all to gold.

The shadowy mists creep up the roseate mountains,
Dissolve, and fade away like waking dreams;
For in the east, as if from sunny fountains,
Day's dazzling rays arise. Now dimpled streams
Answer with smiles heaven's smiling face which seems
To bend o'er earth with love; and dew-drops bright
In beauty sparkle; but the sun's pure beams
Kiss them, and lo! they vanish from our sight.
O life too brief! from flower and leaf they take their flight.

Hark ! in the vale some little bird is singing,
And sweetly calls its fellows to awake ;
And now the lark, into the clear air springing,
Echoes the call ; while from each bush and brake
The happy-hearted songsters answering, make
The welkin ring with praise. Rich odours rise
In worship from the flow'rs ; and from the lake,
Reflecting in its depths the o'erarching skies,
A curling vapour, as of incense, heavenward flies.

GOD'S praise the foaming cataracts proclaim,
And, bowing in deep reverence, adore.
The echoing mountains, too, repeat HIS name,
Then veil their faces with the clouds once more.
HIS praise the billows sound from shore to shore ;
While viewless winds, those spirits of the deep,
Exulting join the ocean's anthem-roar,
And time, to bounding waves' wild music, keep,
As ever in GOD'S praise their solemn harps they sweep.

And when yon sun, which now is seen to rise,
Shall light at last creation's funeral pyre ;
And earth shall perish, and the azure skies
Become one awful winding-sheet of fire ;
While stars, like sparks, fly upward and expire,
Their elements dissolved by fervent heat ;
E'en then, throughout that dissolution dire,
When clouds in darkness surge beneath GOD'S feet,
Chaos, in mighty thunders, shall HIS praise repeat.

And shall the universe of GOD resound
For ever with HIS high and glorious praise ;
Shall worship in the scent of flowers be found,
And adoration in each star's pure rays ;
Is there no dew-drop which in beauty lays
Its soft cheek on a rose-leaf, nor a spring
Nor mountain torrent, but whose glad life pays
Its MAKER homage ; and shall *I* not bring
To THEE a tribute of *my* love, my GOD and KING ?

The worlds of splendour in the midnight sky,
Which gem-like shine so beautifully bright,
Are but THY breath, ALMIGHTY GOD MOST HIGH,
Condensed whilst passing through primeval night
With these creative words—"Let there be light!"
And THOU canst speak, and all that's dark in me,
At once shall take its everlasting flight;
And, like a star o'er life's tempestuous sea,
My song may haply guide some wandering one to THEE.

O SPIRIT of unutterable love,
Of highest wisdom and unbounded grace,
Speak! and, as sprang the stars in heaven above,
From deepest darkness of the realms of space,
To show for ever to the human race
THY still unchanging goodness, here shall shine
Some starry truths which hearts will joy to trace;
Uplifting them from earth to things divine;
The peace and gladness ours; the praise and glory THINE!

G. W. M.

REPORT

OF THE

Royal Society of Literature.

1879.

Royal Society of Literature.

General

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

April 30th, 1879.

The Chair was taken at half-past four P.M. by Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, Q.C., LL.D., V.P., owing to the unavoidable absence of the President, His Royal Highness The Prince Leopold, K.G.

The Minutes of the General Anniversary Meeting of 1878 having been read and signed, the following Annual Report of the Society's Proceedings, as prepared under the direction of the Council, was read.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of Literature
[illegible] Members of
[illegible] Meeting, held
[illegible] April
[illegible] following
[illegible] of the

[illegible] the death

[illegible] of
[illegible] entle-
[illegible]

[illegible]

S. W. AMES, Esq.

J. W. COLSTON, Esq.

W. H. GARRETT, Esq.

J. ABRAHAMS, Esq.

J. C. ALDYS SCOTT, Esq.

J. S. PHENE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

CORNELIUS BROWN, Esq.

THOMAS R. GILL, Esq.

THE REV. JOHN SAYWELL.

And as *Foreign Honorary Members*

COUNT GIOVANNI CITTADELLA, of Padua.

CAVALIER ATILIO HORTIS, of Trieste.

They have, also, much pleasure in laying [Funds.] before the Society the following report on the state of the funds of the Society, from which it will be perceived that :—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last account				466	13	4	
Her Majesty the Queen, Donation				100	0	0	
Rents :—							
Anthropological Institute ..	130	0	0				
Friends of the Clergy Corporation	105	0	0				
Numismatic Society	20	0	0				
Inventors' Institute	10	10	0				
London and Middlesex Archæological Society	7	7	0				
United Service College ..	5	5	0				
				278	2	0	
Subscriptions				227	9	5	
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	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
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ing ..				28	13	9
..				5	17	6
..				1	1	0
..				2	2	0
..				6	5	0
'ransac-						
tions" and Reports				131	9	10
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				£1,381	15	8

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HENRY JEULA.

28th April, 1879.

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] The following papers have been read at the Society's Meetings since the last Anniversary :—

I. *On a Gold Signet Ring, found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ.* By J. H. Baynes, Esq. Read May 22nd, 1878.

II. *On the Significations of the term "The Turks."* By J. W. Redhouse, M.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.S.L. Read June 19th, 1878.

III. *On the Modern Greeks considered as a Nationality.* By Sir P. de Colquhoun, Q.C., LL.D., V.P. Read June 19th, 1878.

IV. *On two Greek Inscriptions from Kamiros and Ialysus in Rhodes, respectively.* By C. T. Newton, Esq., M.A., C.B. Read June 19th, 1878.

V. *On the Earthly Paradise of European Mythology.* By C. F. Keary, Esq. Read November 27th, 1878.

VI. *On Rubens and the Art-Congress at Antwerp.* By C. A. E. CARMICHAEL, Esq. Read January 8th, 1879.

VII. *On Ogham Inscriptions, and on the Mushajjar Characters.* By Capt. R. F. BURTON, M.R.A.S. Read January 22nd, 1879.

VIII. *On the History, System, and Varieties of Turkish Poetry, illustrated by selections in the Original and in English Paraphrase, with a notice of the Islamic Doctrine of the Immortality of a Woman's Soul in the Future State.* By J. W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.S.L. Read February 12th, 1879.

IX. *On an Unrecorded Event in the Life of Sir Thomas More.* By E. W. BRABROOK, Esq., F.S.A. Read February 26th, 1879.

X. *On early Italian Dramatic Literature.* By R. DAVEY, Esq. Read March 26th, 1879.

ADDRESS

OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE LEOPOLD, K.G., K.T.

PRESIDENT,

TO THE SOCIETY.

***Wednesday, April 30th*, 1879.**

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

In obedience to the usual custom of this Society, I have now the pleasure of addressing to you a few words on this our Anniversary Meeting.

And, in doing so, I have great satisfaction in congratulating the Society on its continued prosperity, as evinced by the number of new names which have been added to it during the last year, to fill the place of any losses we may have sustained by death; while at the

same time, I have not to record the resignation of a single Member. Our loss by death of our ordinary Members is only one, the smallest loss, I believe, during the last twenty-seven years, while, on the other hand, we have elected thirteen new Members. We have not, so far as I am aware, lost any one of our Honorary Members, English or Foreign, while we have elected two Honorary Foreign Members.

Owing to these fortunate circumstances, therefore, I have not, on this occasion, to trouble you with any biographical sketches; as, however, at several of our Meetings, many papers of considerable interest or value have been read, I propose, according to the usual custom of the Society to give a brief outline or analysis of them.

Thus:

To our Vice-President, Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Q.C., LL.D., we are indebted for a paper entitled "The Modern Greeks considered as a Nationality," in the commencement of which, he pointed out that the *patois* popularly called "Modern Greek," and supposed by many people to be a real language, is, after all, only

of the old Greek tribes. The fact simply is, that the ancient Greek or Hellenic population, never really very numerous within the old Greek area, became more and more adulterated as time went on, till it was so completely expunged that it may be safely stated that there is far less possible trace of it than of the Keltic race in Saxon England. The language is manifestly that of an intrusive people, who, originally, spoke another tongue which they translated into Greek words, retaining, at the same time, their own idioms, grammar, and construction.

To our Honorary Member, J. W. REDHOUSE, the Society has been indebted for two Papers, the one "On the Origin and Progress of the Turkish Race"; the other, "On the History, System, and Varieties of Turkish Poetry, illustrated by selections in the original and in English paraphrase, with a notice of the Islamic Doctrine of the Immortality of a Woman's Soul in the Future State." In the first, Mr. Redhouse stated that a branch of the Turkish Race, often termed by ethnologists "Turanian," and consisting of a vast agglomeration of tribes and hordes from Chinese Tatary, 1,100 years ago, spread into the country west of the Oxus and Sea of Aral, extending their power and name

almost from the shores of the Polar Sea to the (of India. Their language was and still is ge called "*Turk-dili*," or the "Turkish Language notwithstanding the wide expanse it covers, its d differences are no impediment to its being ge understood over the whole of this vast geogr area. Mr. Redhouse then showed the con between the Turk, the Tatar, and the Mon spectively; pointing out, also, that, as a matter the present Shah of Persia is really of a Turkish and giving, at the same time, a general estimate distribution and numbers of the existing popula the Ottoman Empire.

In his second Paper, Mr. Redhouse commen stating that the poetry of Modern Europe, owing predominant study of the Classical writings of and Rome, is cast into one unvarying mould, w same myths and imagery, and a similar sys rhymes and metres. Hence, it differs essential what has been enshrined in the Sanskrit, E Arabic, and Persian writings. The Turks, Mr. Re added, have not been less successful than other C peoples in the cultivation of Poetry, many o works having been very carefully studied by Eu

ıolars, and notably by Von Hammer Purgstall, of enna.

Mr. Redhouse then gave fifteen specimens, ancient xteenth century) and recent, in the original Turkish d as paraphrased in English verse. One of the mer, a tetrastich elegy on a lady, by Fāzil, will afford good example of the Turkish style:—

'Alas! Thou'st laid her low, malicious Death!—enjoyment's cup yet half unquaff'd;
The hour-glass out, thou'st cut her off, disporting still in life's young spring!
O Earth! All-fondly cradle her. Thou, Trusted Seraph, welcome her with smiles!
For this fair pearl the soul's love was, of one who is a wide world's king."

In commenting on the third line of the above, Mr. dhouse pointed out the common error entertained in ırope—that the faith of Islām denies to women the ssession of a soul; and showed that this erroneous ea is not due to recent times. It is, indeed, an old ror; while it is also doubtful when it first arose. ıle, in the preliminary Discourses to his English anslation of the Koran, published in 1734, mentions e notion, and refutes it from that book. But error d prejudice are almost ineradicable. Yet the facts of

the case have been already made known to English readers by Sale and by the late eminent Orientalist, E. W. Lane, in his "Modern Egyptians," and these are clear enough for anyone who will take the trouble to look into the matter. The Koran, the Scriptures of Islām, has various passages that explicitly promise or threaten the joys of heaven or the torments of hell to women, "therein to dwell for ever." Such especially are chs. ix, 69, 73; xiii, 23; xxxiii, 35; xxxvi, 56; xliii, 70; xlviii, 5 and 6; lvii, 12; lxvi, 9, 10, 11; and cxi, 4. That in ch. xlviii, 5 and 6, is in itself sufficient:— "That he may cause the believers and the believeresses to enter into paradises through which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever. And that He may punish the hypocrites and the hypocritesses, and the polytheists and the polytheistesses, who imagine an evil conceit against God." Noah and Abraham are also said in the Koran, xiv, 42; lxxi, 29, to have prayed for "both my parents." The immortality of woman's soul was therefore taught to the Pagan Arabians, not as a new doctrine, but as an article of the faith of the Patriarchs, of which Islām was but the renewal and completion. Again, the Burial Service of Islām is the same, word for word, for women as for men; as is also that for infants, grammatical variants excepted. The words are indeed singularly

ct—"O God," says the service over the woman, ıe have been a worker of good works, then do Thou ınto her good works. And if she have been an evil do Thou pass it over. And may security and glad gs surround her, with honour and privilege. And Thou her from the torment of the grave and of hell- causing her to dwell in the abode of the paradises her children," &c. On every Moslem woman's , as on those of the men, is an address, requesting ious passer-by to recite a certain passage from the n as an act of charity for the benefit of her soul; he great Persian poet Sa'di has expressed the faith ı co-religionists in the well known distich,

Devout women, the Lord God who've faithfully serv'd,
Shall high precedence hold over men that have swerv'd."

conclusion, Mr. Redhouse remarked that it was a alous falsehood to state, as has been too frequently ed in recent times, and by writers and speakers had ample opportunity of ascertaining the truth, the Ottoman Turks were merely ignorant bar- ns, devoid of any intellectual culture; indeed, that, from this, that they have had, before and since the lation of their Empire, a body of learned men of s, with a voluminous literature in poetry, history,

science, and fiction, such as v
any Western population, a
superior to what has been pr
Persian.

Mr. C. H. E. CARMICHAEL
and the Antwerp Art-Cong
scribing the general charact
in honour of this great Paint
of Flanders, and of the Art-C
with it, he proceeded to ana
discussions which then took
for the most part to Rubens
his times, and, at the same ti
the most practical of the re
the publication of a compl
Rubenianus" would receive
from the public and also fr
preserved in this country.

Captain Burton contribute
Runes and El-Mushajjar"
great length, and with muc
origin of these curious form
the various theories which

; times, especially by Dr. Graves, the Bishop of ick, and Mr. Rhys, the Professor of Celtic in the rsity of Oxford. The popular belief is, he stated, he inventors or adapters of the Ogham Alphabet o its letters the names of different trees or plants ; here can be no doubt that the Arabic title El-ajjar "the branched" or the "tree-like," arose the appearance of the letters. In the original Alphabet, only two letters are called after two the thorn and the birch, respectively, and it is y of note that the latter, the birch, and the poplar) are the only terms which have spread through e with a direct derivation from the old Aryan (Bhurja). To the thorn and the birch, the more ped Anglo-Saxon Alphabet added four, the yew, dge, the oak, and the ash. The Bishop of Limerick rongly urged that the arrangement of the letters y shows that this alphabet was constructed by narians, and that it cannot be considered as a ne primitive alphabet ; but with this view Captain n is not satisfied, and it seems almost certain t cannot be maintained, at least to the extent the p would urge.

Mr. T. H. Baynes, of Exeter College, Oxford, the

ɔdge," and that Coleridge remarks of it that it is
ɔlossom and fragrance of all human knowledge,
thoughts, human passions, emotions, and lan-
He then showed that one of its chief character-
s personification, and one of its essential qualities
ɔity of language combined with dignity of
ıt, and wealth of expression. He quoted also
hnson's opinion as to the necessary qualifications
ɐet, and supported that judgment by a quotation
the writings of Coleridge, to the effect that,
. it is undoubtedly true that a poet, as such,
ı not made, yet if his writings are to be a power
ɔ earth, there must be superadded to his natural
ments a wide-spread knowledge of Nature and of

E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A., read to the Society an
ınt Paper "On an Unrecorded Event in the Life of
ıomas More," viz.: that on December 10, 1514,
ɔlled himself among the Professors of Civil Law,
ɔoming a member of the Society of Advocates,
ɔnly called Doctors' Commons. The proof of this
ent Mr. Brabrook showed, from a tracing of an
ıph of Sir Thomas More he had recently found in
ɡister and Obligation Book of the Society, now

preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, the most appropriate place for it. The Register contains the words: "Ego T. Morus, 3° die decembris a° a Christo nato 1514to, admissus sū in hanc societatē et pollicitor me solutūr, in annis singulis, s. 6, d. 8." Mr. Brabrook argued that Sir T. More had probably been induced to take this step owing to his constant employment on embassies in foreign countries, where a knowledge of the Civil Law was almost indispensable, and where, too, Professors of the Civil Law were most frequently chosen for such offices.

Mr. Davey read a paper "On Early Italian Dramatic Literature," in which he gave a clear account of its rise and progress down to the commencement of the sixteenth century, pointing out how it was gradually developed from the rude reminiscences of the classical drama, which had been preserved among the lower orders, and for which the Church substituted the well-known miracle plays, many of which, according to modern ideas, would be considered very profane.

The *Majji* of Tuscany, which are rarely found in print, Mr. Davey considered to be, in all probability, an echo of these earlier dramatic performances. The Drama, as a whole, was greatly affected by the rise of

e Renaissance Period, and of the great works of Dante, trarch, Boccacio, and others. Trissino was the author the first Italian tragedy of note, the Sophonisba, me scenes of which, as that of the death-bed of the ueen, Mr. Davey showed to have much dramatic wer. Another work of considerable merit was ucellai's Rosmunda. Mr. Davey then referred to e remarkable influences of Italian literature on the nglish writers of the Elizabethan times, and expressed s opinion that Shakespeare must have been ac- uainted with the leading Italian writers of his day. he character of the Renaissance Drama of Italy, he lded, was doubtless much affected by the cruel spirit the Renaissance itself, especially in Southern Europe.

To Mr. C. F. Keary, of the British Museum, we owe paper "On the Earthly Paradise of European Mythogy," in which he proved satisfactorily, from the idence of the Mediæval legends, the existence of a ng current tradition concerning the Earthly Paradise, stinct from, and not seldom in opposition to, the octrines of Orthodox Catholicism, and, therefore, in l probability, a survival of Heathen Mythology.

One peculiar feature of these Christian legends ointed to an Earthly Paradise lying in the West, and

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THE ETHNOLOGY OF MODERN MIDIAN.

BY RICHARD F. BURTON, M.R.A.S.

(Read June 23rd, 1880.)

PART I.

Notices of the Tribes of Midian, viz.:—

(I.) Huwaytát; (II.) Beni 'Ukbah; (III.) Magáni or Maknáwis; (IV.) Ma 'ázah; (V.) Baliyy, and (VI.) Hutaym.

THE land of "Madyan" (Proper) as the Arabs universally call it, or "North Midian," as I have proposed to term it, is the region extending from Fort El-'Akabah, at the head of the gulf of the same name (N. lat. 29° 28′), to Fort El-Muwaylah, (N. lat. 27° 40′). This tract, measuring a latitudinal length of 108 miles (dir. geog.), contains three distinct tribes of Bedawin, viz. :—

Huwáytat
Maknáwi
Beni 'Ukbah } bounded east by the Ma'ázah.

They have been called Egypto-Arabs; but it must be noted that while the Beni 'Ukbah, like the Ma'ázah, have spread from Arabia to Egypt, the Huwaytát and most of the Maknáwi have migrated out of Egypt into Arabia; all have in fact trodden, during past centuries, in inverse directions, that great nomadic highway, the Isthmus of Suez. As

C′.

a rule, those who settled in the Nile Valley, extended their branches over Northern Africa, and some reached even to utmost Morocco.

The district of about the same latitudinal extent, from El-Muwaylah to the great Wady Hamz (N. lat. 25° 55′ 15″), where Egypt ends, and where the Hejaz, the Holy Land of the Moslems, begins, I propose to call "South Midian," in lieu of the confused terms locally used. This district, measuring 105 miles (dir. geog.), contains two chief tribes :—

Huwaytát, Baliyy } bounded east by the 'Anezah, and south by the Juhaynah.

We may fitly compare these tribes with the Semitic families scattered over North-western Arabia in the days of the Hebrews, such as the Moabites and Ammonites, the Amalekites, the Kenites, and a host of others. But I would observe, *in limine*, that none of the peoples now inhabiting the land of Midian represent that gallant race, the Midianites of old. From the earliest times of El-Islam they have been held a "mixed (or impure) multitude (*Khaltun min el-Nás*); in fact, *oi ἔξω*.

Yet they cannot be called modern; two of them have *la charme des origines*, dating from at least as far back as the days of the Byzantine Empire. These two, the Beni 'Ukbah and the Baliyy, claim, as will be seen, noble blood, Himyaritic and Kahtaníyah (Joktanite). The Huwaytát and the Maknáwis are called Nuttát El-Hayt ("Wall-jumpers"), an opprobrious term applied by the Bedawi, *pur sang*, to villagers or settled Arabs. The Nejdi 'Anezah and the Hejázi Juhaynah will not be noticed, as they live beyond the limits of "Midian," in its most

extended sense; but I must not neglect the Pariah or out-cast Hutaym, the fishing race of the coast and the pastors of the interior.

These four chief families, Beni 'Ukbah and Baliyy, Huwaytát and Maknáwi, not including the Ma'ázah and the Hutaym, much resemble one another in physical characteristics, in dress, in diet, and in mode of life. With the exception, perhaps, of the Baliyy, all speak without difference of vocabulary or accent Bedawi Arabic, resembling that of the Sinai Peninsula, tainted with the Fellah-Egyptian jargon. The six have been described with more or less correctness of detail by Burckhardt (pp. 412, 437, "Travels in Syria." London: Murray, 1822), and in a later day by Wallin, who after his pilgrimage was known to the Arabs as Haji Walí (el-Dín);[1] he travelled from El-Muwaylah to Meshhed Ali, thus nearly traversing Arabia. He did not, however, remain long enough in Midian to separate false reports from true; and his valuable notices tend only to perpetuate the gross exaggerations of the Bedawin. The sole object of the latter is to impose upon the pilgrim-caravans, and to frighten the Governments of Egypt and Syria into granting the greatest possible amount of black-mail. The Huwaytát, for instance, assured me on my first journey that they number, like the Ma'ázah, 5,000 males.[2] I do not believe that those

[1] This learned Swede, Dr. George Augustus Wallin, after returning from Arabia, was made Arabic Professor at the University of Helsingfors, where he died shortly afterwards. His work alluded to in these pages is *Notes taken during a Journey through part of Northern Arabia in* 1848. Read April 22nd, 1850. Art. xxi., Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc., pp. 293–339. The journey took place in 1847–48.

[2] I published the statement in (p. 150), "The Gold Mines of Midian,"

dwelling in Midian can muster 500. During our second march the Ma'ázah declared that they could put 2,000 matchlocks into the field, which may be reduced, in the case of the section holding the east of this province, to about the same proportion. Lastly, the Baliyy, have succeeded in establishing the greatest amount of exaggeration. "*Aus dieser Küste zählen sie gegenwärtig*, 37,000 *waffenfähige Männer*," says my learned friend Sprenger.[3] I think that under 1,000 would be nearer the mark; and, during our progress through their country we certainly did not see 100 souls.

The immense division and subdivision of the tribes into clans and septs, which must often consist of single families; and the exaggerated number of chiefs, subserve the same purpose. The last Expedition which I had the honour to lead never numbered less than three Shaykhs, each of whom received for suit and service the usual honorarium of $1 per diem. If I summoned a Shaykh, he was sure to come escorted by three to five other "Shaykhs," brothers and cousins, who all had an eye upon "Bakhshísh." In fact, every naked-footed fellow a little above the common "cateran" would dub himself "Shaykh,"[4] and claim his "Musháharah" or monthly pay, showing immense indignation at,

&c. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1878. The second Expedition gave me an excellent opportunity of correcting the mistakes of the first. For instance, Beni (Sons of) was erroneously applied to the Huwaytát, to the Ma'ázah, and to the Baliyy; when, throughout Midian, it is confined to the (Beni) 'Ukbah.

[3] P. 28, Die alte Geographie Arabien's. Bern. Huber u. Comp, 1875.

[4] Thus our guide, 'Abd el-Nabi, of the Huwaytát, persuaded me during the first Expedition that he was a chief, when he was a mere clansman; and, of course, it was no one's business to correct me.

and affecting to hold himself dishonoured by, my refusal.

But this multiplication of "Shaykhs" has its compensating advantage. It will be useful in disciplining the *'Orbán*,[5] as the citizens call their wild neighbours. The claimant to chieftainship is always a man of more substance than the common herd; and there is a hold upon him when he is engaged to hire labour. Thus I expect scant difficulty in persuading the tribesmen to do a fair day's work for a fair and moderate wage. The Bedawin flocked to the Suez Canal, took an active part in the diggings, and left there a good name. They will become as valuable to the mines of Midian; and so shall the venerable old land escape the mortification of the "red-flannel-shirted Jove and his golden shower," as the "rough" of Europe is called by a contemporary reviewer.

The first tribe to be noticed is the Huwaytát, of whom a short description was given in my book on "The Gold Mines." The name occurs (p. 541) in the Jehan-numá (*Speculum mundi*),[6] the work of Háji Khalífah, commonly called Kátib Chelebi (the "elegant writer") who died in A.H. 1068 (=A.D. 1658). Of El-'Akabah, the station of the pilgrim caravan, we read, "the Arabs settled there are of the tribe of Huwaytát." The 'Alawíyyin[7] Huwaytát, who now claim the place and receive government pay, ignore that they are a mere clan or branch; and Shaykh Mohammed ibn Jád, who styles himself

[5] Or 'Urbán, the plural of 'Arab. It is prefixed to the tribal and septal name, as 'Orbán Huwaytát, 'Orbán Tagaygát, and so forth.

[6] See Appendix, vol. ii., Wellsted, "Travels in Arabia," &c. London: Murray, 1838.

[7] Prof. Palmer (p. 431) calls them "'Alawín."

lord of El-'Akabah, speaks of the connection as an old and obsolete story.

My principal authority upon the subject of the Huwaytát and the tribes of North Midian, was Shaykh Furayj bin Rafí'a, the 'Agíd or military leader and cousin of the head Chief 'Aláyán el-Tugaygi. According to this oral genealogist, a man thoroughly to be trusted, the eponymus, or first ancestor of the "people belonging to the little walls," was a lad named 'Alayán. Travelling over the Cairo-Suez line, afterwards occupied by the tribe, in company with certain Shurafá, or descendants of the Apostle, and, *ergo*, held by his descendants to have been also a Sheríf, he fell sick on the way. At El-'Akabah the stranger was taken in by 'Atiyah, Shaykh of the then powerful Ma'ázah tribe, who owned the land upon which Sultan Selim's fort now stands. Being able to read and write, he made himself useful to his adopted father in superintending the amount of stores and provisions supplied to the Hajj. The Arabs, who before his coming peculated and embezzled at discretion, called him by the nickname El-Huwayti (حويطى), the "Man of the Little Wall," *Huwayt* being the diminutive of *Hayt*, a wall or a house, opposed to *Bayt*, a tent. They considered, in fact, his learning a fence against their frauds. He was subsequently sent for by his Egyptian friends, who were baulked by a report of his death; he married his benefactor's daughter, and he became Shaykh after the demise of his father-in-law. As time increased his power he drove the Ma'ázah from El-'Akabah, and he left four sons, who are the progenitors of the Midianite Huwaytát. Their names were:—

'Alwán (علوان),
'Imrán (عمران),[8]
Suway'íd (سويعد), and
Sa'íd (سعيد).

1. From the eldest son came the 'Alwáni-Huwaytát clan, whose chief septs are :—

Diyáb or 'Atish (عطيش) who hold the Edomite Sherá' range (the Mount Seir of the Hebrews) between Forts 'Akabah and Ma'án, where they meet Mohammed ibn Jázi and his Beni Sakr.[9] Both chiefs receive pay for protecting the Hajj about El-'Akabah.

The narrow slip of Edom Proper is bounded north by Kerak, the southern outpost of Moab ; south by El-'Akabah of Midian ; east by the road of the Damascus pilgrimage ; and west by the Wady el-'Arabah. It is divided into two parts. The northern is called El-Jibál (the "Mountains"), answering to the Gebal of the Hebrews and the Gebalene of the Romans. The southern is known as El-Sherá', containing the ancient capital, Sela (Heb., the Rock), now Petra. Both, together with Midian and the Northern Hejáz, were included in the classical Nabathæa.

Nijád (نجاد) also called Nijád Mihimmid. They extend, like the former, from El-'Akabah to the Sherá'. Their Shaykh, Hasan ibn Rashíd, has lately

[8] Burckhardt (p. 512, "Travels in Syria," &c., London : Murray, 1822) calls them the "Omran," and assigns to them the whole tract from El-'Akabah to El-Muwaylah. Wellsted (vol. ii., p. 120, and *passim*) also terms the clan "Omran."

[9] According to the Rev. Mr. H. B. Tristram ("The Land of Moab," Murray, 1878), the Beni Sakr are "true Midianites."

denied that he is an 'Alwáni, and has gone over to Mujalli, chief of El-Kerak, an alien family.

2. The descendants of Imrán, whom Rüppell (p. 21) calls *die Emradi*, suspecting them of being Jews, and telling the queerest tales about them, form the following four septs :—

Hamídát (حميدات),
Raba'iyyín (ربعيين),
'Abádilah (عبادله) and
Siyáhah (سياحه).

These Bedawin are all subject to one Shaykh, Khizr ibn Makbúl, assisted by his brother 'Brahim ; the former usually camps in the Hismá, the latter in the Wady el-Hakl—*vulgo*, Hagul, the Ancále of Ptolemy (vi., 7).

The following two septs, also 'Imránis, are under Saláwat ibn Helayyil, who camps in the hilly and plain ground to the east of the station El-'Akabah :—

Hawámidah (حوامده),[10]
Asábín (اصابين).

3. The descendants of Suway'id are numerous. The list of 19 names, which I gave in my first volume, contains only the posterity of the third son : my informants, being of the Tugaygát-Huwaytát subdivision, politely ignored all the three brothers who had not the honour of being their ancestors. The list has been carefully corrected by the genealogists,[11] who have added to it three septs :—

[10] Not to be confounded with the Moabitic Beni Hamídah or the Hamaidah—the latter the owners and breakers of the celebrated "Moabite Stone."

[11] The errors and the misprints are numerous. Amongst the former is

20. Fahámín (فحامين),
21. Shawámín (شوامين) and
22. Muwayja'át (مويجعات).

In my list the Masá'íd (sing. Mas'údi) has been made No. 2 of the Suway'id-Huwaytát descent. According to Wallin[12] (p. 303) they represent themselves as having originally came from a water-course in Yemen, named Wady Líf. Of this province I could hear nothing. But the genealogists agree in representing that this decayed and spiritless clan, now perforce affiliated to the Tugaygát-Huwaytát for protection against the 'Imrán, is at least as old as the Beni 'Ukbah. Rüppell, indeed, suspects (*loc. cit.*) that the *die Musaiti* are *ein Judenstamm*, but this is distinctly denied. The clan, expelled in 1877 from Magháir Shu'áyb, its old possession, is confined (1877–1878) to the parts about 'Aynúnah, which is safer for it than Makná. In former days it extended to Egypt; and it still has congeners at El-Ghazzah (Gaza), and the Ras el-Wady, near the

(p. 152) "Maghárat" (for *Magháir*) Shu'ayb: "Makhsab" (for *Mukhassib*) in p. 153, and in the same "Jebel" (for *Wady*) El-Jimm. The misprints (p. 153) are "Suwayyah" (for *El-Suwayyid*, the Suweyid of Wallin), "El-Ulayyát" (for *'Ubeyyát*); "El-Zamahrah" (for *El-Zamahrah*); and "Surhaylát" (with that intelligent compositor's vile British "r") for *Suhaylát*.

[12] Wallin (p. 302) in his list of septs mentions the "Dakîkât" and the "Tahîkât"—"the last regarded by some as the noblest clan of the tribe, by others as a separate tribe." Thus he makes it evident that he means the "Tugaygát," whose name will presently be explained; whilst his "Dakîkât" must be the Tagátkah of the Wady Dámah, the No. 7 in my list. As regards his "'Ureinát" (for *'Araynát*) they are counted as Hutaym, and live under the protection of the Huwaytát. His "Sharmân" is a small sept of the 'Amírát clan, which Wallin miscalls 'Umrât; and of his "Sughayîn" I could learn nothing.

Egyptian Tell el-Kebír. The Masá'íd (مساعيد) clan is divided into two septs :—

Faráhín (فراحين).

Masá'íd Ahl el-Badá; that is, the families who formerly camped at Magháir Shu'ayb, the Madiáma of Ptolemy (vi., 7).

The Shaykh of the Masá'íd is dead; and one Agíl, a greedy, foolish kind of fellow, who visited and dunned me during my first journey, aspires to the dignity and the profits of chieftainship.

4. The posterity of Sa'íd, the fourth brother, numbers, I am told, only one great clan, the Sa'diyyín, under their Shaykh ibn Negayz (نجيز); they camp in the Wady 'Arabah and in the Tíh or wilderness to the west and the north-west of Midian.

The Huwaytát tribe is not only an intruder; it is also the aggressive element in the Midianite family of Bedawin. Of late years it has made large additions to its territory. Thus the Jehan-Numá, written before the middle of our seventeenth century, declares that "the permanent abode of the Beni-Lám" lies between the Hajj stations, El-Sharaf and Magháir Shu'ayb. In these days the Lám tribe, which still musters strong in Mesopotamia, especially about Kurneh (Goorna), at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, has disappeared from Midian; indeed, Katí'at Beni-Lám (the "cutting off of the sons of Lám") is a local saying to denote a thing clean gone, that leaves not a trace behind it. Again, the Beni 'Ukbah, as will be seen, once occupied the whole of Midian Proper, and extended through South Midian as far as the Wady Dámah. This

great valley is held to be a Hadúdah ("frontier-divider") which, in ancient days, separated the 'Ukbíyyah ("'Ukbah-land") to the north, from the Balawíyyah ("Baliyy-land") south of it. In our times the intrusive Huwaytát have absorbed almost all the 'Ukbíyyah, and are fast encroaching upon the northern Balawíyyah. At such a rate the modern and adventitious tribe will, after a few generations, either "eat up," as the Cape-Kafirs say, all the other races; or, by a more peaceful process, assimilate them to their own body. Statistics are impossible in the present condition of Midian; but it will be most interesting to investigate the birth-rate and the death-rate among the Huwaytát and their neighbours.

I also consulted Shaykh Hasan el-'Ukbi and his cousin, Ahmed, popularly known as "Abú Khartúm," concerning the origin of their tribe, the Beni 'Ukbah, whom Wellsted (ii., p. 120) calls "Ugboot."[12] According to Shaykh Furayj, the name means "Sons of the Heel" ('Akab). During the early wars and conquests of El-Islám, they fought by day on the Moslems' side; and at night, when going over to the Nazarenes, they lost the "spoor," by wearing their sandals heel foremost, and by shoeing their horses the wrong way. All this they indignantly deny. They declare that the tribal name is derived from their ancestor 'Ukbah, and they are borne out by the literary genealogists. El-Hamdáni says "they are the sons of 'Ukbah, son of Maghrabah,

[12] In my vol. i., p. 117, I have given a few details concerning the Beni 'Ukbah, and a fanciful derivation of the tribal name, which need not here be repeated.

son of Herám"; and El-Kalkashendi in the fifteenth century makes them "descendants of Gudhám of the Kahtaniyyah" (Joctanite Arabs), some of the noblest of Bedawi blood. They also assert that they came to Midian from the south: that is, they are of Hejázi descent; and they look upon the Huwaytát as mere *parvenus*, men of yesterday. At first called "El-Musálimah," they were lords of all the broad lands extending southward between Shámah (Syria) to the Wady Dámah, below the port of Zibá; and this fine valley still retains, I have said, under its Huwayti occupants, the title of 'Ukbíyyah—Ukbah-land. The author of "El-'Ibar," Ibn Khaldún, makes their land "extend from El-Kerak to El-Azlam in El-Hejaz; and they are bound to secure the road (for pilgrims) between Egypt (Cairo?) and El-Medinah, and as far as El-Ghazzah (Gaza) in Syria." Consequently they claim as "Milk," or unalienable property, the Wadys Ghurr, Sharmá, 'Aynúnah and others; whilst their right as "Ghufará ("protectors") to the ground upon which Fort El-Muwayláh is built has never been questioned.

The first notable event in the history of the Beni 'Ukbah was a quarrel that arose, about the beginning of El Islam, between them and their brother tribes the Beni 'Amr[14] ('Amrú). The 'Ayn el-Tabbákhah,

[14] Wallin (p. 300), who erroneously makes the Beni 'Ukbah extend from Bada' to Zibá, has evidently heard part, and part only, of this story. He terms the two large divisions, Musálimah and Beni 'Amrú (pronounced 'Amr), and derives them from a common ancestor, named Ma'rúf. He also speaks of the domestic feuds between the Shaykhs, which ended in the expulsion of the Beni 'Amr, by the Musálimah from the neighbourhood of El-Muwaylah. Finally, he notices their taking "refuge with the Hejáyá tribe, about Tafílah, near Ma'án, with whom

the fine water of Wady Madyan, now called Wady Makná, was discovered by a Hutaymi shepherd of the Beni 'Ali clan, while tending his flocks; others say that the lucky man was a hunter following a gazelle. However that may be, the find was reported to the Shaykh of the Musúlimah (Beni 'Ukbah) who had married 'Ayayfah, the sister of the Beni 'Amr chief, Ali ibn el-Nejdí, whilst the latter had also taken his brother-in-law's sister to wife. The discoverer was promised a Jinu or Sabátah[15] (date-bunch) from each palm-tree, and the rival claimants waxed hot upon the subject. The Musálimah declared that they would never yield their rights, a certain ancestor, 'Asaylah, having first pitched tent upon the Rughámat Makná or white "horse" of Makná. A furious quarrel ensued, and, as usual in Arabia, both claimants prepared to fight it out.

To repeat the words of our genealogist, Furayj: "Now when the wife of the Shaykh of the Musálimah had heard and understood what Satan was tempting her husband to do against her tribe, she rose up and sent a secret message to her brother of the Beni 'Amr, warning him that a certain person (*fulán*) was about to lay violent hands on the Valley. Hearing this, the Beni 'Amr mustered their young men, and mounted their horses and dromedaries, and rode forth with jingling arms; and at midnight they found their opponents asleep in El-

they have ever since formed one tribe; but they still retain their animosity towards their kindred clan" (the Musálimah).

[15] Janá-a, in classical Arabic, would be "gathered fruit"; Subátah: rubbish, sweepings.

Khabt (a region to the north-west of 'Aynúnah), with their beasts tied up by their sides. So they cut the cords of the camels, and having gagged the hunter who guided the attack, they threatened him with death, and they carried him away with them towards Makná.

"When the Musálimah awoke, they discovered the deceit, and securing their camels they hastened after the enemy, following his track like 'Azraíl. Both met at Makná, where a battle took place, and Allah inclined the balance towards the Beni 'Amr. The Musálimah therefore became exiles, and took refuge in Egypt. And in the flow of days it so happened that the Shaykh of the Beni 'Amr awoke suddenly at midnight and heard his wife, as she sat grinding at the quern, sing this

Quatrain.

"If the hand-mill (of Fate) grind down our tribe
We will bear it, O Thou (Allah) that aidest to bear!
But if the hand-mill grind down the foeman tribe
We will pound and pound them as thin as flour."

"Whereupon the Shaykh, in his wrath, took up a stone and cast it at his wife and knocked out one of her front teeth. She said nothing, but took the tooth and wrapped it in a rag, and sent it with a message to her brother, the Shaykh of the Musálimah. But this chief was unable to revenge his sister single-handed, so he travelled to Syria and threw himself at the feet of the Great Shaykh of the Wuhaydi tribe, who was a Sherif.

"The Wuhaydi despatched his host together with the warriors of Musálimah, and both went off

to battle with the Beni 'Amr. The latter being camped in a valley near 'Aynúnah, tethered their dogs, and some say left behind their old people,[16] and lit huge bonfires: whence the name of the place is Wady Urum Nírán (the "Mother of Fires") to this day. Before early dawn they had reached in flight the Wady 'Arawwah of the Jibál el-Tehámah. In the morning the Musálimah and the Wuhaydi, finding that a trick had been practised upon them, followed the foe and beat him in the Wady 'Arawwah, killing the Shaykh; and the Chief of the Musálimah gave his widowed sister as wife to the Wuhaydi, and settled with his people in their old homes. The Beni 'Amr fled to the Hismá, and exiled themselves to Kerak in Syria, where they still dwell, owning the plain called Ganán Shabíb."[17]

The second event in the history of the tribe, the tale of Abú Rísh, shall also be told in the words of Furayj: "After the course of time the Beni 'Ukbah, aided by the Ma'ázah, made war against the Shurafá (descendants of the Apostle), and plundered them, and drove them from their lands. The victors were headed by one Salámah, a Huwayti, who dwelt at El-Akabah, and who had become their guest.[18]

"In those ages the daughters of the tribe were wont to ride before the host in their Hawádig

[16] This act would disgrace an Arab tribe, and of course it is denied by the Beni 'Ukbah.

[17] There is now peace between the Beni 'Ukbah and the Beni 'Amrú; at least, so I was assured by the Shaykhs, although Wallin (p. 300) heard the reverse. The remnant of the tribe has never heard of its settlements, reported by books, in Western Tripoli, or in the far West of North Africa.

[18] The modern Beni 'Ukbah ignore the story of Abú Rísh, not wishing to confess their obligations to the Huwaytát.

(camel-litters), singing the war-song to make the warriors brave. As Salámah was the chief Mubáriz ("champion" in single combat), the girls begged him to wear a white ostrich feather in his turban when fighting, that they might note his deeds and sing his name; hence his surname "Abú Rísh"—the Father of a Feather.[19] The Shérifs being beaten, made peace, taking the lands (South Midian) between Wady Dámah and El-Hejáz, whilst the Beni 'Ukbah occupied North Midian (Madyan Proper), between Dámah and Shámah (Syria).

"Abú Rísh, who was a friend to both victor and vanquished, settled among the Shérifs, and in the Sirr country, south of Wady Dámah. He had received to wife, as a reward for his bravery, the daughter of the Shaykh of the Beni 'Ukbah, and she bare him a son, 'Id, whose tomb is in the Wady Ghál, between Zibá and El-Muwaylah. On the seventh day after its birth, the mother of 'Id followed the custom of the Arabs, and presented the babe to her father, who made over in free gift Wady 'Aynúnah to his first-born grandson. 'Id used to lead caravans to Cairo, for the purpose of buying provisions; and he was often plundered by the Ma'ázah, who had occupied in force the Wadys Sharmá, Tiryam, and Surr of El-Muwaylah.

This 'Id ibn Salámah left, by a Huwayti woman, a son 'Alayán, surnamed Abú Takíkah[20] (Father of a

[19] Thus, probably we must explain Wallin (p. 303):—"The Huweitat give the name of Reishy to the ancestor of their tribe, but in the Arab genealogies which I had an opportunity of seeing, I could not find any notice, at least any direct notice, either of him or of his descendants."

[20] In classical Arabic طَق (Takh) means a rattle, a clatter, like our "tick-tack."

Scar), from a sabre cut in the forehead; he was the founder of the Tugaygát-Huwaytát clan, and his descendants still swear by his name. Once upon a time, when leading the caravan, he reached the Wady 'Afál, and he learned that his hereditary enemies, the Ma'ázah, and the black slaves who garrisoned El-Muwaylah, were lurking in the Wady Marayr;[21] so he left his loads under a strong guard, and he hastened with the Huwaytát to the Hismá, where the Ma'ázah had left their camels undefended. These he drove off and rejoined his caravan rejoicing. The Ma'ázah, hearing of their disaster, hurried inland to find out the extent of the loss, leaving the black slaves who were still determined to plunder the Káfilah. 'Alayán was apprised of their project; and, reaching the Wady Umm Gehaylah, he left his caravan under a guard, and secretly posted fifty matchlock men in the Wady el-Suwayrah, east of the walls of El-Muwaylah; he then (behold the cunning!) tethered between the two hosts, at a place called Zil'ah (ضلعة), east of the tomb of Shaykh Abdullah,[22] ten camel-colts without their dams. Roused by their bleating the negro slaves followed the sound and fell into the ambush, and were all slain.

"'Alayán returned to the Sirr country, when his tribe, the Huwaytát said to him 'Hayyu! (up!) to battle with these Ma'ázah and Beni 'Ukbah: either they uproot us, or we uproot them!' So he

[21] Or, more correctly, from a plant, *Centaurea calcitrapa*. Forskâl (Descriptiones, etc., p. lxviii) also translates "Marayr," *Hieracium uniflorum*. The valley lies north of El-Muwaylah.

[22] The tomb on a hillock north of El-Muwaylah.

gathered the clan, and marched to a place called El-Bayzá (south east of El-Muwayláh), where he found the foe in his front. On the next day the battle began, and it was fought out from Friday to Friday. A truce was then made, and it covenanted to last between evening and morning; but at midnight the enemy arose, left their tents, and fled to the Hismá. 'Alayán followed them, came up with them in the Wady Sadr, and broke them to pieces. Upon this they fled to Egypt and Syria.

"After a time the Beni 'Ukbah returned, and obtained pardon from 'Alayán, the Huwayti, who imposed upon them six conditions. Firstly, having lost all right to the land, they thus became Akhwán ("brothers," *i.e.*, serviles); secondly, they must give up the privilege of escorting the Hajj-caravan; thirdly, if a Huwayti were proved to have plundered a pilgrim, his tribe must make good the loss; but if the thief escaped detection, the Beni 'Ukbah should be liable to pay the value of the stolen goods, either in coin or in kind; fourthly, they were bound not to receive as guests any tribe (enumerating a score or so) at enmity with the Huwaytát; fifthly, if a Shaykh of Huwaytát fancied a dromedary belonging to one of the Beni 'Ukbah, the latter was bound to sell it under cost; and sixthly, the Beni 'Ukbah were not allowed to wear the 'Abá or Arab cloak."[23]

The Beni 'Ukbah were again attacked and worsted in the days of Sultan Selim, by their hereditary foe, the Ma'ázah. They complained at Cairo, and the

[23] These hard conditions were actually renewed some 25 years ago; now they are forgotten.

Mamlúk Beys sent down an army which beat the enemy in the Wady Surr of El-Muwaylah. They had many quarrels with their southern neighbours, the Baliyy. At last peace was made, and the land was divided; the Beni 'Ukbah taking the tract between Wadys Dámah and Muzayríb.[24] Since that time the tribe has been much encroached upon by the Huwaytát. It still claims, however, as has been said, all the lands between El-Muwaylah and Makná, where they have settlements, and the Jebel Harb where they feed their camels. They number some 25 to 30 tents,[25] boasting that they have hundreds. And, as will appear, their Shaykh, Hasan El-'Ukbí, amuses himself by occasionally attacking and plundering the Maknáwi or people of Makná, a tribe weaker than his own.

I also made inquiries concerning the Beni Wásil el-'Ukbah, children of Wásil, son of 'Ukbah, whom Ibn Khaldún, the author of El-'Ibar, makes "a branch of the Sons of 'Ukbah, son of Maghrabah, son of Gudhám (Juzám), brother of Lakhm, of the Kahtaníyah, dwelling in Egypt." El Hamdáni says that part of them occupy "Ajá and Selmá, the two celebrated granitic ranges of Tayy" (part of the Jebel Shammar); and the author of the Mesálik el-Absár ("Ways of Sight"), speaks of them in the Héjaz. Wallin, who gives these details, adds: "The only place in which I met with the Benî Wásil was at Sharm, of the Sînâ Peninsula, where two of the (Muzáynah) fishermen I have mentioned, said they

[24] I presume this place is "Mezáríb," the pilgrim-station of the Damascus caravan in the Haurán Valley.

[25] In 1848, Wallin numbered them at 40–50 about El-Muwayláh.

belonged to that tribe, and used to entertain me with stories of the former grandeur of their ancestors. In the mountains of Tay, in Gabal Shammar, I did not happen to hear of them." The oral genealogists of Midian assured me that the Beni Wásil are still to be found in the mountains behind Tur harbour, and there only. Prof. Palmer (*loc. cit.*, 339) also mentions the Beni Wásil as a branch of the Tawarah or Turi Arabs. He thus repeats Burckhardt (p. 556, "Travels in Syria"), who speaks of some 16 families living with the Muzaynah near Sharm, ranking as Tawarah, but claiming to have come from Barbary and to have brethren in Upper Egypt.

During a week's halt at Makná (Jan. 25—Feb. 2, 1878), I had an opportunity of collecting details concerning its peculiar tribe: it is described in my first volume (p. 341), with various inaccuracies. These men are *not* of ancient race nor of noble blood; and their speech differs in nothing from the Arabs around them. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that they represent in any way the ancient Nabathæan Midianites. In features, complexion, and dress they resemble the half-settled Bedawin. The Magáni,[26] to whom only the southern clump of huts at Makná belongs, call themselves Fawá'idah, Zubáidah, and Ramázáni, after noble families of Juhayni blood; and the Fawá'idah have, by descent, some title to the name. They are, however, considered to be Khaddámín ("serviles"), like the Hutaym, by their neighbours, who gave the following account of their origin. An Egyptian silk-seller, who accompanied the Hajj-caravan, happened to fall asleep at Kubázah,

[26] The singular is Maknáwi, pronounced Magnáwi.

between the stations of 'Aynúnah and Magháir Shu'ayb. His companions went on, and he, fearing to follow them alone, made his way to Makná, where he married and settled. Admiring the fertility of the soil he sent to his native country for Fellahin—*cultivateurs* and peasants—who were collected from every part of Egypt. The new comers were compelled to pay one-half of their harvest by way of Akháwah (or "brother-tax"), a sign of subjugation to the Beni 'Ukbah, the owners of the soil. Hence Wallin (p. 303) calls them a "tribe of nomadic Fellâhs who, in the same manner as the Gabaliyé (Jebelíyyah) in the Sînâ Mountains (Sinai), associate themselves with the Bedooin owners of the plantations, and receive for their labour and care in cultivating them a certain proportion of the dates annually produced."

The Magáni have gradually acquired Milk ("title") to the ground. According to some they first settled at Makná during the days of the Beni 'Amr, whom they subsequently accompanied to the Hismá, when flying from the victorious Musálimah. After peace was made they were compelled to pay one-fourth of the date-harvest by way of brother-tax to the 'Imrán-Huwaytát and to the Ma'ázah, whilst the Tagaygát-Huwaytát claimed a Bursh, or "mat of fine reeds," as a poll-tax upon every head of man. Under these hard conditions they were left unmolested; and everything taken from them was restored by the chiefs who received their tribute. They have no Shaykh, although one Sálim ibn Juwayfilí claims the title.

Before 1866 the Magáni numbered about a

hundred tents; the Wady Makná was then a garden, and its cultivators were remarkable for their goodness and hospitality to strangers. But in that year a feud with the Beni 'Ukbah broke out, caused, as often happens in Midian and elsewhere, by the *belli teterrima causa*. The women quarrelled with one another, saying: "Thy husband is a slave to my husband," and so forth. The little tribe hoisted two flags of red and white calico, with green palm-fronds for staves; and dared the foe to attack it. But after a loss of four killed and sundry wounded, the survivors ran away, leaving their goods at the mercy of the victors. Shaykh Hasan el-'Ukbi was assisted by the Ma'ázah in looting their huts, and in carrying off their camels; while Shaykh Furayj vainly attempted conciliation. Shortly afterwards the Maknáwis went in a body to beg aid from Hammád el-Sofi, Shaykh of the Turábín tribe, which extends from El-Ghazzah (Gaza) westwards to Egypt. Marching with a host of armed followers he took possession of the palm-huts belonging to the Beni 'Ukbah, when the owners fled, leaving behind their women and children. Furayj hastened from 'Aynúnah to settle the quarrel, and at last the Sofi said to him, "Whilst I protect the Magáni, do thou protect the Beni 'Ukbah." Thereupon the latter returned from their mountain refuge to El-Muwaylah. The Magáni, at the present time, are mostly camped about 'Aynúnah, and only some fifteen old men and women and boys, who did not take part in the fight, and who live by fishing, remain under the protection of the Beni 'Ukbah at Makná. Hence the waters are waste and the fields are mostly unhoed.

Such is the normal condition of Arabia and the Arabs. What one does, the other undoes; what this creates, that destroys. Professor Palmer tells us ("Desert of the Exodus," p. 79): "Another misconception is that all Arabs are habitual thieves and murderers." But he was speaking of the Tawarah, or Sinaitic Bedawin, a race which, bad as bad could be in the early quarter of the present century, has been thoroughly tamed and cowed by the "fear of Allah and the Consul." It is only by building forts, and by holding the land militarily, that we can hope to tame this vermin. Yet I repeat my conviction that the charming Makná Valley is fated to see happy days; and that the Wild Man who, when ruled by an iron hand, is ever ready to do a fair day's work for a fair wage (especially victuals), will presently sit under the shadow of his own secular vines and fig-trees.

The next tribe which comes under our notice are the turbulent Ma'ázah (sing. Ma'ázi), who dwell inland of those before mentioned. It is another race which has extended high up the Nile Valley, and it is still found in the Wady Músá (of Suez) and on the Gallála Mountains or Za'afaránah Block. It is the chief tribe in the Eastern Desert between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez, and the Abábdah call it Atauní (sing. Atwení). It extends far to the north. These were the "very unprepossessing gang of half-naked savages" who on Mount Hor accused Prof. Palmer (p. 435) of having visited the "Prophet Aaron" by stealth; swore that they would confiscate one of his camels, and otherwise made themselves objectionable. Combining with the Arabs of

Ghazzah (Gaza) they have invaded the southern borders of Palestine for the sake of the pasturage; and have fought bloody battles with the rightful owners of the soil. Even in Egypt the Ma'ázah are troublesome and dangerous; the men are professional robbers, and their treachery is uncontrolled by the Bedawi law of honour: they will eat bread and salt with the traveller whom they intend to rob or slay. For many years it was unsafe to visit their camps within sight of Suez walls, until a compulsory residence at head-quarters taught the Shaykhs better manners.

The habitat of the Ma'ázah in Arabia stretches north from the Wady Musá of Petra, where they are kinsmen of the Tiyáhah, or Bedawin of the Tíh-desert, and through Fort Ma'án, as far as the Birkat el-Mu'azzamah, south of Tabúk. Between the two latter stations is their Madrak, or "district of escorting pilgrims." They trade chiefly with Mezárîb, in the Haurán Valley; I have heard of their caravans going to Ghazzah (Gaza), where they buy the Syrian cereals, which are held to be harder and of superior quality. During the annual passage to and fro of the "Damascus Pilgrimage," the Shaykhs await it at Tabúk; whose site they claim, and threaten to cut off the road unless liberally supplied with pensions and presents of rations and raiment. The Murátibah ("honorarium") contributed by El-Sham (Syria) would be about $100 in ready money to the head man, diminishing with the recipient's degree to $1 per annum: this would not include "free gifts" by frightened pilgrims.

Finally, the Ma'ázah occupy the greater part of

the Hismá, where they are mixed with the Huwaytát in the north; and of the Harrah, where the Ruwalá meet them on the east, and the Baliyy to the south-east. The Hismá is that long thin line of New Red Sandstone extending from a little south of Fort Ma'án to the parallel of El-Muwaylah: a length of 170 direct geographical miles; in breadth, it varies from one to three days' march. Running along the two great chains which form the submaritime region, it probably represents a remnant of the old terrace, the westernmost edge of the great plateau of Central Arabia, El-Nejd (the "Highlands") opposed to El-Tihámah (the "Lowlands"). It has been torn to pieces, by the plutonic upheavals to the west and by the volcanic outbreaks to the east. The latter are called "El-Harrah": they are of far more importance than has hitherto been suspected. Wallin's map shows a small parallelogram, diagonally disposed from north-west to south-east, and not exceeding in length 60 miles (north lat. 28°—27°). I have seen it as far south as El-Haurá (Leukè Kóme) in north lat. 25° 6′; and I am assured that under various names it stretches inland to El-Medinah, and even to Yambu' (24° 6′).

The bandit Ma'ázah claim the bluest of blue blood. According to one of their chiefs, Mohammed bin 'Atíyyah, whom we named El-Kalb ("the Hound"), their forefather, Wáíl (وايل), left by his descendants two great tribes. The first and eldest took a name from their *Ma'áz* (he-goats), while the junior called themselves after the *'Annáz* (she-goats). From the latter sprang the great 'Anezah family, which occupies the largest and the choicest provinces of the Arabian

peninsula.[27] Meanwhile professional Arab genealogists wholly ignore the Ma'ázah, who are, probably, ignoble Syrians.

Wallin (p. 310) would divide the tribe into two, the Ma'ázah and the "'Atiyá." Of the latter in this region I could hear nothing, except that the 'Atiyát (عطيات) here represent the kinsmen of the Shaykh Mohammed bin 'Atiyyah. Further north the clan is separate and distinct. We find "Benoo Ateeyah" in maps like that of Crichton's ("Hist. of Arabia," 1834); the Ma'ázah being placed south of it. The Beni 'Atiyyah are powerful on the borders of Moab, where their *razzias* are greatly dreaded. The Rev. Mr. Tristram, whose ornithology is better than his ethnology, ignores (*loc. cit.*) the fact that "the dreaded Beni 'Atiyeh, a new tribe from Arabia," are kinsmen of the "Ma'az, a tribe of similar habits." My informants declare that their number of fighting men may be 2,000 (200?), and that they are separated only by allegiance to two rival Shaykhs. The greater half, under Ibn Hermás, is distributed into the five following clans:—

1. Khumaysah, who consist of two septs, the Zuyúffíyyah (ضيوفيه) and the Tugará (Tujará). Wallin (*loc. cit.*), who also gives a total of ten clans, including the Beni 'Atiyyah, makes the two latter distinct, but he omits the first name:—

[27] The 'Anezah descending (Pococke, Spec., pp. 46–47) from Asad bin Rabí', b. Nazár, b. Ma'd, b. 'Adnán of the posterity of Ismá'il (Ishmael), claim to be 'Adnáníyyah or Ismáilíyyah. They originally held the whole of north-western Arabia, till it was conquered from them by the intrusive Kahtániyyah (Joktanites), the Juhaynah, Baliyy, and Beni 'Ukbah, who migrated from the south. And now the Ishmaelitic Adnáníyyah-'Anezah are in their turn driving their old conquerors into the mountains, and skirts of the desert.

2. Rubaylát,
3. Shimálah (not in Wallin),
4. Jimá'át (do.),
5. Agaylát (عاجيلات, do.).

Under Shaykh Mohammed ibn 'Atiyyah (El-Kalb) are also five clans, viz. :—

1. Sulaymát,
2. Khuzará (خضراَ),
3. Sa'dániyyín,
4. Hayáyinah (not in Wallin),
5. The Subút (سبوت) or Beni Sabt.

Wallin remarks that the latter, whose name would signify "Sabbaths" or "Sons of the Sabbath," that is, Saturday, have been supposed to be of Jewish origin. At the same time he found that the clan uniformly derives its name from an ancestor called Subaytán,[28]—a common Bedawi P.N. We noticed nothing to distinguish them from their neighbours, save the ringing of the large bell, suspended to the middle tent-pole of the Shaykhs and wealthier clansmen, at sunset, to "hail the return of the camels and the mystic hour of returning night." I was assured that this old custom is still maintained because it confers a *Barakat* ("blessing") upon the flocks and herds. Certainly there is nothing of the Bedawi in this practice, and it is distinctly opposed to the tradition of El-Islam; yet many such survivals hold their ground. Of

[28] He states that the only clan mentioned in the Arabian genealogies is the Subút, "which may probably be the same as the Subút stated by El-Kalkashendi to be 'derived from Lebíd of Sulaym, of the Adnaníyyah dwelling in the land of El-Burkah.'"

Wallin's 'Aliyyín and 'Amriyyín I could learn nothing.

The Ma'ázah of the Hismá' used formerly to visit El-Muwaylah. In 1848, according to Wallin, one of its chief clans was supplied by the steward of the Castle, on account of the Egyptian Government, with rice and corn on credit, to the amount of 1,500 Spanish dollars. For the last ten to twelve years not a tribesman has appeared on the seaboard of Midian. They are under the sham rule of miserable Syria: that is, under no rule at all. They are supposed to be tributary to, when in reality they demand tribute from, the Porte. Nothing can be more pronounced than the contrast of the Bedawin who are subject to the Egyptian, and those who are governed by the Ottoman. As Wallin himself—like Burckhardt, an amateur Bedawi—very mildly puts it (p. 300), "the Bedooins here at El-Muwaylah, as in other places under the Egyptian Government, although the rightful Arabian inhabitants of the town (?) have no share in the administration of its affairs; while in the towns (?) on the Syrian road their full rights have been preserved to them. There, also, as throughout the greater part of Arabia, the primitive and time-sanctioned nomadic laws and customs of the desert are observed; but here the system of Islam jurisprudence is established and administered by Turkish officers."

The Mines of Midian, I am convinced, cannot be worked until this den of thieves is cleared out. It is an asylum for every murderer and bandit who can make his way there; a centre of turbulence which spreads trouble all around it. Happily for their

neighbours, there will be no difficulty in dealing with this tribe: it is surrounded by enemies, and it has lately been compelled to pay "brother-tax" to the Ruwalá-'Anezah, as a defence against being plundered. On the north, as far as Fort Ma'án, the Ma'ázah meet the hostile Beni Sakr, under their chief Mohammed ibn Jázi. Eastward are the 'Anezah and the warlike Sharárát-Hutaym, who ever covet their 2,000 camels. South-eastwards the Baliyy, commanded by Shaykh Mohammed 'Afnán, are on terms of "blood" with them. Westward lie their hereditary foes, the Huwaytát, whose tacticians have often proposed a general onslaught of their tribesmen by a simultaneous movement up the Wadys Surr, Sadr, 'Urnub and 'Afál. Finally, a small disciplined force, marching along the Damascus-Medinah line, and co-operating with the Huwaytát on the west, would place this plague between two fires.

The whole of our third or southern journey lay through the lands of the Baliyy; and a few words concerning this ancient and noble tribe may here be given. It is called *die Balyy* by Sprenger (p. 28); by Wellsted, Bili; by Wallin, Beni Bely; and by others Billi and Billee; and the patrial name is Balawiy. Although they apparently retain no traditions of their origin, they are well known to genealogists as Kahtaníyyah or Joktanites, like the Beni 'Ukbah. This branch of the Beni Kudá'h (Qodhá'a)[29] some fifteen centuries ago emi-

[29] El-Kudá'h was son of Himyar bin Sabá, b. Yashhab, b. Ya'rab, b. Kahtán (Joktan), b. 'Aábar (Eber), b. Sálih or Shálih, b. Arfakhshad, b. Sám (Shem), bin Núh (Noah).—(Pococke, Spec., p. 42.)

grated from Southern Arabia, and eventually exterminated the Thamudites. They thus date from the early days of the Byzantine Empire, to which they made over part of their seaboard. Their "Eponymus" was Baliyy, son of 'Amr ('Amrú), son of El-Háris, son of Kudá'h. Wellsted (ii., 185) makes their principal Shaykh, Ámir, command a tract of six days' journey inland and coast-wise from Shaykh "Morábít" (Muraybat) to the southward as far as "Hasáni" (Hassáni) and El-Haurá. If this was true in 1833, they have now been driven some 50 miles north to the Wady Hamz, north lat. 25° 55′: the line where the Juhaynah begin. They still, however, claim the ground as far north as the Wady Dámah, a little south of the parallel of Zibá in north lat. 27° 20′. I have noted their northern and southern frontiers. To the north-east they are bounded by the vicious Ma'ázah and the Ruwalá-'Anezahs, and to the south-east by the Alaydán-'Anezah, under Shaykh Mutlak. Like their northern nomadic neighbours they have passed over to Egypt, says the Masálik el-Absár; and even the guide-books speak of the Billi or Billee in the Valley of the Nile and about "Cosseir."

The Baliyy modestly rate their numbers at 4,000 muskets—Wellsted says upwards of 7,000—by which understand 1,000 is in South Midian. Yet they divide themselves into a multitude of clans. Our companion, the Wakíl Mohammed Shahádah, could enumerate them by the score; and I wrote down the 23 principal, which are common both to South Midian and to Egypt. These are :—

1. Buraykát,
   'Aradát (Wallin's 'Arádát),
   Wábisah (وابصه),
   Fawázlah (فواضله),
5. Hurúf,
   Jawá'in (جواعين),
   Sahamah (ساحمه),
   Mawáhíb (Wallin's Muwáhíb),
   Zubbálah,
10. Humrán (حمران),
   Humur (حمر),
   Rumút,
   Wahashah (وحشه),
   Furay'át (فريعات),
15. Hilbán,
   Ma'ákilah (معاقله), (Wallin's Mu'ákilah),
   Makábilah (مقابله),
   Mutárifah (مطارفه),
   Siba'át (سبعات),
20. Rawáshidah,
   Ahámidah (احامده),
   Nawájihah (نواجحه), and
   Jimaydah.[30]

It is curious, but all assert as a fact, that each of these clans is divided into at least four, and some into six septs.

The chief Shaykh, Mohammed 'Afnán ibn 'Ammár, can reckon backwards seven generations, beginning

[30] I could hear nothing of the Beni-Lút, whom Wallin locates near the Wady Fera', between El-Wijh and the Wady Azlam.

from a certain Shaykh Sultán. Beyond that he knows nothing. The tribe has a modern as well as an ancient history. In 1833 the Fort Garrison and the Bedawin were on bad terms; and, without being accompanied by the Shaykh, no traveller could proceed into the interior, or even a few hundred yards from the seaboard. About ten years ago 'Afnán allowed his "merry men" to indulge in such dangerous amusements as "cutting the road," and plundering merchants. It is even asserted privily (by themselves) that they captured the Fort of El-Wijh, by bribing the Turkish Topji or head-gunner to fire high, like the half-caste artilleryman who commanded the Talpúr cannoneers at Sir Charles Napier's battle of "Meeanee." A regiment of 800 bayonets was sent from Egypt, and the Shaykh was secured by a "Hílah" or stratagem: that is, by a gross act of treachery. He was promised safe conduct; he trusted himself like a fool; he was seized, clapped in irons, and sent to gaol in the citadel of Cairo. Here he remained seven months *in carcere duro*, daily expecting death, when Fate suddenly turned in his favour; he was summoned by the authorities, pardoned for the past, cautioned for the future, and restored to his home with a "Murattibah" (regular pension) of 800 piastres per mensem, besides rations and raiment. The remedy was, like cutting off the nose of a wicked Hindú wife, sharp but effective. Shaykh 'Afnán and his tribe are now models of courtesy to strangers; and the traveller must devoutly wish that every Shaykh in Arabia should be subjected to the same discipline.

The Baliyy are a good study of an Arab tribe in

the rough. The Huwaytát, for instance, know their way to Suez and to Cairo. They have seen civilisation; they have learned, after a fashion, the outlandish ways of the Frank, the Fellah, and the Turk. The Baliyy have to be taught all the rudiments of such useful knowledge. Cunning, tricky, and "dodgy" like all the Wild-man race, they lie like children. It is enough to look in their faces: they are such bad actors that they cannot conceal thought; and yet they keep up the game, deceiving nobody. For instance, hours and miles are of course unknown to them; but they began with us by affecting an extreme ignorance of comparative distances: they could not, or rather they would not, adopt as a standard the two short hours' march between the Port and the inland Fort of El-Wijh. But when the trick was pointed out to them they marvelled at our sagacity; instantly threw aside as useless the old trick, and tried another. No pretext was too flimsy to shorten a stage, or to cause a halt; the Northerners did the same, but with them we had Shaykh Furayj.

Like the citizens, they hate our manner of travelling; they love to sit up and chat through half the night; and to rise before dawn is an abomination to them. The Arab ever prefers to march during the hours of darkness, thus enabling his half-starved camels to graze through the day, and to avoid hard work in the sun. Hence they have their own stages and halting-places, the "Mahattát el-'Urbán" which, being determined, as in Africa, by the water supply, vary between four and five hours of "dawdling" work; but I was determined not to humour their

preferences, however venerable, at the average rate of £6 per diem.

At first their manners, gentle and pliable, contrast pleasantly with the roughness of the half-breds Huwaytát and Maknáwi, who have many of the demerits of the Felláh, without acquiring the merits of the Bedawi. As camel-men they were not difficult to deal with. They have been praised for "that profuse hospitality which distinguishes the Bedawin of the interior from their neighbours on the outskirts of the desert"; and for the "vivacity and lightness of mind so common among the northern Arabs, but so foreign to the custom and rigid manners of the Wahhábiyyah." Presently they turned out to be "poor devils," badly armed and not trained, like the Bawáridah ("gunners") of the North, to the use of the match-lock. Their want of energy, to quote one instance, in beating the bushes and in providing forage for their camels, compared with that of the Northerners, struck us strongly. On the other hand, they seem to preserve a flavour of ancient civilisation, which is not easy to describe; and they certainly have inherited the instincts and tastes of the old metal-workers, their ancestors or their predecessors; they are, in fact, born miners. That sharpest of tests, the experience of travel, at last suggested to us that the Baliyy is too old a breed, and that its blue blood wants a "racial baptism"; a large infusion of something newer and stronger.

According to Wallin, the chief family of the Baliyy is the Muwáhíb (Mawáhíb), who supply the Shaykh: in his day the latter was Ibn Dámah. He

assigns to them a far too extensive habitat. They hold the high cool Jaww, "where, without their especial permission no other Bedouins have a right to encamp, hence their lighter skins"; and they may hold one of its drains, the Wady 'Aurísh, "where they have long possessed date-plantations, and in rainy years cultivate oats (?), barley (?), and maize" (? holcus, ? millet). But they certainly do *not* "claim the exclusive possession of the whole of the land of El-Harrah," even in the confined sense of the word. Their district may be "advantageously situated between the shore of the Red Sea, the Hejaz and the Nejd, and easily communicating with El-Wijh and Tabúk and Taymá (south east of Tabúk), and El-Medinah," but they move out of it *not* seldom. Like other Bedawin, as summer approaches they near the shore. He reports that droughts have compelled them to seek water and pasture about the neighbourhood of Damascus and Aleppo, where, for instance, they passed the spring of 1846."[31] This migration, if it ever took place, is now clean forgotten. They *do* claim to be a very numerous tribe, and they had plenty of horses and cattle (camels) before 1847; in that year the Beni-Sakr[32] from Wady Musá, under the Shaykh ibn Jázi, stole upon their pasture lands unawares, and managed to drive off almost all their property. They are still without horses, but they plunder their neighbours

[31] So, according to Wallin, who borrows from the Ansáb ("genealogies") of El-Sam'áni, the powerful tribe, El-Sulaym, the former occupiers of El-Harrah, used to migrate north as far as Hums (Hemesa or Emesa).

[32] Wallin (p. 323) says a "large party of the Huwaytát of the clan of Ibn al-Gáz."

the Sharárát, the 'Anezah, the Juhaynah and others, of whatever comes handy. Shortly before 1848, when the aggressive Wahhábís were still powerful, the Baliyy voluntarily joined the Puritan Confederacy, by paying the Zakát ("obligatory legal alms"); they have long since lapsed from grace. They still arrogate the right of levying Akháwah ("brother-tribute") from Taymá, although its people, originally Shammar Arabs, are well able to resist them. They have the same pretensions in the case of Aylá, south of El-Hijr, whereas it is now in the hands of the 'Anezah, and it is protected by the Turkish Governors of El-Medinah. Their claim to the site of El-Wijh is still admitted, and their Madrak (or "beat") for protecting pilgrims is on both lines. At Zibá they relieve the Beni-'Ukbah, and travel as far as El-Wijh. The Syrian caravan is, or rather was, protected by them between the Birkat el-Mu'azzamah and El-Hijr.

Wallin notices their Arabic as follows: "The Bely is the first tribe in this part whose dialect assimilates to that of the inhabitants of Nejd, and the 'Anezahs, which differs principally from that current in the towns, and among Arabs of a less unmixed race, by its frequent use of Tanwín ('nunnation'), and by certain grammatical forms and idiomatic expressions from the ancient language; and still more strikingly by the peculiar pronunciation of the letters *k* (káf) and *k* (káf), called *Kashkasheh*, by the Arabian grammarians." This peculiarity he describes as "pronouncing these letters when final, in certain cases, as if written 'kash' and 'kash'"—which has no meaning.

The language of the Baliyy has less of the Egyptian and Sinaitic-Bedawi than that of the tribes to the north; but it is by no means so pure as that of the Juhaynah. As regards the classical "nunnation," I never yet met, although I have often heard of, an Arab race that habitually uses it. With respect to the articulation of the guttural *k* (as in "kappa)," and the still more bronchial *ḳ*, to Europe unknown, the Baliyy follow the Bedawi rule. The first is pronounced like ch ("church"), *e.g.*, Kuffár ("infidels") becomes *Chuffár*. The second represents a hard g ("go"), *e.g.*, Kaum (a razzia) sounds like *Gaum*, but deeper in the throat.

The last tribe upon my list, the Hutaym or Hitaym, though unnamed by Sprenger, is peculiarly interesting to us. It is known to travellers, Burckhardt, for instance,[33] only as a low caste, chiefly of fishermen. Wellsted (ii., 263), who seems to have studied them well both in Africa and Western Arabia, makes the barbarian "Huteïmí" (=Hutaymi, sing. of Hutaym), derive from the Ichthyophagi, described by Diodorus Siculus, and other classical geographers. He adds: "Several Arabian authors notice them; in one, the Kítab el-Mush Serif,[34] they are styled Hooteïn, the descendants of Hooter, a servant of Moses." He also relates (p. 259) a Bedawi legend that the Apostle of Allah pronounced them polluted, and forbade his followers to associate or to intermarry with them, because when travelling along the seashore he entered one of their camps, and was shocked and offended to see a dog

[33] "Notes on the Bedouins," vol. ii., p. 386.

[34] The name of the book is probably "El-Musharrif."

served up as food. A similar story of canine diet, by-the-by, is told of the Egyptian Berábarah (Berbers), who are not, however, regarded with contempt and aversion. Others declare that they opposed Mohammed when he was rebuilding the Ka'bah of Meccah; and thus drew down upon themselves the curse that they should be considered the basest of the Arabs. These fables serve to prove one thing: the antiquity of the race.

The Hutaym, meaning the "broken" (race), hold in Egypt and Arabia the position of Pariahs, like the Akhdám ("helots" or "serviles") of 'Omán and Yemen. Evidently we must here suspect an older family, subjugated and partially assimilated by intruders. Even to the present day the Arabs consider treating a Hutaymi as unmanly as to strike a woman. When a Felláh says to another, "Tat' hattim" (= Tat'maskın, or Tat'zallí), he means "Thou cringest, thou makest thyself contemptible (as a Hutaymi)."

Hence the Hutaym must pay the tributary "Akháwat" to all the Bedawin tribes upon whose lands they are allowed to settle, the annual sum averaging per head $2, in coin or in kind; besides which they supply their patrons, who have no boats of their own, with fish. Formerly, large quantities of this salted provision were sent for sale to the Eastern interior; now the Ma'ázah have stopped the market.

The Hutaym are as scattered as they are numerous; they are found in Upper Egypt, and they occupy many parts of Nubia. About Ras Siyál, south of Berenike, and around Sawákin (Souakim), they form an important item in the population. Wellsted

(p. 262) describes meeting a Hutaymi family on the Nubian shore, near the Sharm called Mirza Helayb. It consisted of an old man, a woman, and a young girl: the former entirely nude, and the two latter with clothing barely sufficient for decency. At first they threw themselves at his feet, begging that their lives might be spared; presently they were persuaded to accompany him on board. Their boat had left the week before to catch turtle; and for three days they had lived only on raw shell-fish gathered from the shore. They devoured with the utmost voracity everything set before them, eating the rice raw. Their finger-nails were almost destroyed by digging the sands in search of food.

The Hutaym number few about the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula and in Midian, using the latter word in its extended sense. Wallin (p. 297) mentions them in the "Peninsula of Pharan," and tells us that some families who have boats had passed over in 1847 to the opposite island of Tíran—in 1878 I did not find a soul there. The 'Araynát, as has been seen, are found among the northern Huwaytát; they also dwell to the south of 'Aynúnah Bay, near the tidal islet Umm Maksúr. Wellsted (p. 161) visited on the coast opposite "Reïman" islet, between Ras Fartak (Shaykh Hámid) and 'Aynúnah, a fishing village of these outcasts, who by paying tribute to the lords of the soil were allowed to cultivate a few date-trees. There are settlements about the hollow called Istabl 'Antar. Sharm Dumayghah and the barren lands around Sharm Jazái (not Jezzah; Wellsted, p. 183) also support a few families whilst the fishing lasts. The Karaizah-Hutaym of Jebel Libn

or Libin, claim as their kinsman the legendary hero and poet 'Antar, who was probably a negro of the noble or Semitico-Berber blood. A few are settled in huts and tattered tents, near the quarantine-town, El-Wijh, at the base of the overhanging cliff on the northern side. These were the only sites where I had any opportunity of seeing the poor Pariahs.

The Hutaym extend deep into the heart of Arabia. The Sharárát clan inhabits the lands bordering on the great Wady Sirhán, east of the Dead Sea. The Sulabá are found in the mountains of Shammar, extending towards Meshhed 'Ali. Further south of Midian they become an important item of the population. About the village of Tuwál in the Hejaz, south of Rábigh, the pilgrim station, they assist the inhabitants in fishing for pearls. They are found in various parts of the (Moslem) Holy Land, and have some large encampments near Lays (Leyt), immediately south of Jeddah. The poorest classes wander half naked about the shore, fishing and picking up on the beach or amidst the rocks a scanty and precarious meal of shell-fish. The wealthier, who have rude boats, rove from place to place, also living like ichthyophagi, but at times obtaining better cheer by what they receive in barter for pearls. Their tents are awnings always open on the side next the sun, and composed of black cloth woven by the women from goats'-hair. The supports are six or seven sticks; the stuff, generally tattered and torn, being fastened with small wooden skewers to the rope which connects them. A bit of similar rag, hung down the middle, divides the men from the women, children,

and beasts. The wretched comfortless "shanties" are pitched in some out-of-the-way place, for concealment as well as for shelter; they contain little beyond fishing-tackle and the merest necessaries of furniture, such as pots and grinding-stones. These restless beings are necessarily meagre, squalid, and pusillanimous.

In the Eastern regions the Hutaym form large and powerful bodies. The chief clans, according to my informants, are the Sharárát, whose number and gallantry secure for them the respect of their fighting neighbours the equestrian Ruwalá-'Anezah; yet Wallin (p. 317), when at Tabúk, speaks of the "poor and despised branch of the Hutaym clan of El-Sharárát, called El-Suwayfilah." In p. 319 he extends the title "wide-spread and much-despised tribe" to all the Sharárát; and he makes (p. 328) the latter extend to El-Jauf, in the very heart of Arabia, 5° to the N.N.E. A similar account was given to me of their neighbours, the Nawámisah; and I cannot help suspecting this clan of being in some way connected with the stone-huts and tombs, which the Arabs, in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, call *Nawámís* (sing. *Námús*), or "mosquito-houses." The modern tradition is that the children of Israel built these dwarf dwellings as a shelter from the swarming plague sent by heaven to punish their sins of rebellion.[45]

Like other Arabs, the Hutaym tribe is divided into a multitude of clans, septs, and even single households, each under its own Shaykh. The Bedawin recognise them by their look, by their peculiar

[45] See the "Desert of the Exodus" (*passim*).

accent, and by the use of certain words, as "Harr!" when donkey-driving. Wellsted (p. 260) generally knew them by the remarkable breadth of chin; and by the hair which, exposed to sun and salt-water, changes its original black to a light red-yellow—the latter, however, is characteristic of all the coast fishermen.[36] But there is little resemblance between the Bedawin and the maritime Hutaym. The features of the latter are more sharpened, the cheeks more hollow, and the eyes seated deeper in the head; the nose is long, thin, and beak-like; and the expression of the countenance is heavy and dull. Some of the boys are remarkably pretty, but after twenty their faces become wrinkled, and they show signs of premature decay. The spare but vigorous form of the Bedawi is quite distinct from the lean, unshapely, and squalid figure of the Helot. This is the combined result, perhaps, of racial difference; certainly of a poor fish diet, the cramped position of canoe-men, and exceeding uncleanliness of person and clothing. Their rags are never washed, and they are not changed till they fall to pieces. Consequently, they suffer severely from cutaneous disease, which is aggravated by exposure to weather, and by an ungrateful mode of life. The women, who go about unveiled, either through fear or old custom, never refuse themselves to Arabs of higher blood.

The Bedawin and the citizens of Midian always compare their Hutaym with that family of the Gypsy race known to the Egyptians as the "Ghagar" (*Ghajar*). It will be interesting to inquire whether

[36] I noticed this change of hue at El-Zibá and elsewhere. ("The Gold Mines of Midian," i., p. 151).

these outcasts are a survival of the Indian and Central Asian immigrants who, like many on the banks of the Nile, have lost their Aryan tongue. In such case they would descend from the wandering tribes that worked the old *ateliers*, scattered in such numbers over the surface of Midian ; and they would be congeners of the men of the Bronze Age—the earliest wave of Gypsy immigration into Europe.

The Hutaym clans of which I collected notices are :—

'Araynát, living under the protection of the Huwaytát, in North Midian.

Beni 'Ali, mentioned in connection with the Beni 'Ukbah.

The Sharárát, a pugnacious and powerful people, dwelling east of the Hismá, and at war with the Ma'ázah. One of these septs, the Sufayfílah, is mentioned by Wallin. Amongst the numerous subdivisions of the Sharárát in Wady Sirhán and in El-Jauf, he met with one called "Al-Da'giioon" (Da'kíyún), after the Shaykh's family "Al-Da'gé" (Da'kah). El-Kalkashendi declares that these are a branch of the tribe of Tay, holding the country between Taymá, Khaybar, and Syria.

The Sulabá, according to Wallin, "the most despised clan of the Hutaym, occupy in summer the lands about Bir 'Tayim, north-east of El-Háil, the capital of the Shammar country.

The Nawámisah, among the Ruwalá.

The Karáizah, about and on Jebel Libn.

My notes will not extend to the great Juhaynah tribe, the Beni Kalb ("Dog's Sons") of the Apostle's day. Although they form on the coast of Midian

a comparatively large floating population, especially during the season of pearl-fishing, their habitat is wholly beyond the limits of the province. For full information concerning these Kahtaníyyah (Joktaniti) kinsmen of the Baliyy—both being of Kudá'h (Qodhá'a), or South Arabian blood—the reader will consult Sprenger's "Alte Geographie" (pp. 29–35). Wellsted (ii., 197–207), says that this, "one of the most celebrated Arab tribes, is little spoken of at the present day." About Yambú', he remarks, the Juhaynah "may be safely trusted," but I should not advise the traveller to do so. The only thing to be said in their praise is that they are not so bad as the Harb tribe to the south.

Part II.

Manners and Customs of the Midianite Bedawin.

We will begin our "agriological" notes by following the Bedawi from his birth-hour to that which restores him to Mother Earth.

In Midian, like in ancient Europe, the babe is still swaddled, from the knees to the loins, with rags of cotton or linen, shifted night and morning. It is then placed in a cradle, or rather a bag. As in

many parts of India, the head is pressed into proper shape. The eyes are painted with lamp-black or with "Kohl," here meaning either antimony or impure iron; and tinsel ornaments and talismans of brass; silver and copper coins, stones, and bits of brass are hung round the neck, arms, and legs.

The first feast is held, as usual among Moslems, on the seventh day after birth. The mother, having purified herself and her babe, presents it to her parents, relatives, and friends. A feast is made if it be a boy—girls "don't count"—and the grandfather is expected on these occasions to be liberal. There is no fixed time for what some English travellers call "the absurd and barbarous custom of tattooing." It has always some object, although it was originally suggested among nude races by the necessity of hardening the skin. Thus the north-western Arabs guard against cold by making incisions, almost to the "quick," in the live leather forming their foot-soles, and by exposing the latter to a broiling fire. The Mashâli of the Meccan citizens, three perpendicular stripes about an inch wide, cut down both cheeks, mark their birth-place; and though forbidden by El-Islam, they serve to prevent the "holy children" being kidnapped by pious but mistaken pilgrims. Others, again, suppose that gashing the face prevents the gathering of noxious humours about the eyes. The "beauty spots" with which the Huwaytât men mark their cheeks are probably derived from Egypt.

The next great feast is that of circumcision. When the appointed day comes, a tent is pitched, with as many carpets and decorations as possible. Each one of the relatives brings a lamb or some other item

of the picnic; and these form the preliminary banquet. At noon the 'Ajírah (*i.e.* hamstrung) sheep is duly sacrificed, the tendons of the right hind-leg having previously been cut. Meanwhile the small patients are seated in a circle; and a curtain hanging before the tent-door defends them from the Evil Eye; care is also taken that their feet do not touch the bare ground till the operation is over. The mothers wash their bairns with the *Ghusl*, or total ablution, and dress them with beads and metal trinkets. They are then carried out upon the men's shoulders; a procession is headed by youths, holding pans of smoking incense, firing guns and, beating sticks together; it is also joined by the mothers, after washing their own feet in the water used by the boys. When the noisy crowd has thrice circumambulated the tent, the patients are re-arranged inside, and the operator asks formal permission of each father, so as not to incur pains and penalties in case of accidents. He performs the rite in the usual Moslem way—the barbarous Salkh (*scarification*) of the Asír, and other southern tribes is here unknown. The sufferers are expected to bear the pain without crying or even shrinking. A fee is paid for each child; and the day ends with a jollification. The boy is now a man, and may no longer enter the harem.

Marriage customs differ among the tribes. The wildest have a peculiar practice thus noticed by Wellsted (ii., 122): "The father in the presence of the daughter (a scandalous proceeding!) demands if the suitor is willing to receive her as his wife, and his answer in the affirmative is sufficiently binding; a

small piece of wood is sometimes presented by the father, and worn by the bridegroom for several weeks after his marriage." Among the Sinaitic Muzaynah, the girl is bound to run away from her father's tent, and to hide in the mountains for three days. As the sexes often meet in Bedawi-land, youths and maidens have frequent opportunities of making acquaintance; and the mothers often connive at it, whilst the fathers are kept, or affect to be kept, in ignorance. As I have noted in my Pilgrimage, the sentimental form of love is not unknown to the Bedawi; and girls have suicided themselves rather than marry men whom they disliked.

Usually, Cœlebs, attended by five or six friends, calls upon his intended father-in-law, who, if "agreeable," sets before them food and coffee. Then, the demand having been duly made, takes place the debate concerning the dowry; this weighty matter is often not settled until influential friends lend a hand. When the bargain ends, the usual jollifications begin; and the young men of the tribe amuse themselves with displays of marksmanship and with sword play, of which they have a rude system. If the clan boast of a Khatíb ("notary"), he publicly and officially demands, three several times, the consent of the father and of the bridegroom, warning the latter that the sin will be "on his own neck" if he beat or starve his wife. This concludes the betrothal.

The girl, meanwhile, is supposed not to know anything of the transaction; yet it can hardly escape her notice. In the evening when she returns with the sheep and goats—the camels being in charge of the males—she is surreptitiously fumigated with

incense, in order to defend her from El-'Ayn (the "Evil Eye"). The bridegroom's 'Abú (cameline or cloak) is then thrown over her head by the Khatíb, or some friend, who creeps up from behind exclaiming, "Allah be with thee, O daughter (girl)! none shall have thee but such a one"—naming the "happy man." Then a scene ensues. The bride elect, in token of virgin modesty, shrieks for aid, calls upon her father and mother, and tries to disentangle herself and to escape. But as she is seized by the women who collect around her, *lulliloo'ing* shrilly (Zaghárít), and repeating the words in chorus, Miss Prude is at last persuaded to be pacified. She is then led to a tent, pitched for the purpose near her father's, and sprinkled with the blood of a sheep sacrificed in her honour. At the end of the third day, during which due attention has been paid to her personal decorations, she is bathed by the matrons in procession, and is led to the bridegroom's quarters. Sheep are also sacrificed by kinsmen and friends as a contribution to the feast, and they, together with the women who have assisted at the ceremony, expect small gifts from the bride's father. The Bedawin preserve the ancient Jewish practice, to which Isabel of Castile submitted on her marriage, and which is still kept up by the English Gypsies.

If the bride be found unsatisfactory she is either divorced at once, which may cause trouble, or she is quietly put away to avoid scandal. The laws of repudiation are those of the Koran, modified according to Rasm, or tribal custom, by the officer called Kazi el-'Orbán ("Judge of the Arabs"). The punishment of adultery varies. The low caste

tribes accept damages in money or camels, the sum being assessed by an arbitrator. The higher races put the women to death, and shoot the man; this is done by the "injured husband," as in the Sár or blood-revenge for homicide, whenever he has an opportunity. Of course it gives rise to a fresh feud.

Young girls are very scantily dressed even in the wintry cold. Many of them have no other covering but a single piece of tattered cloth thrown over the body. The children are mostly nude, or furnished with a strip of 'Abá, or a goat's skin turned whichever way the wind blows. The general feminine dress is that of the Tawarah, a loose amorphous garment of dark, indigo-dyed cotton, covered in winter with an outer cloak of the same material. All the tribes, even the distant Baliyy, wear this true Egyptian blue. The decorations are tattooed chins and lips; and the ornaments are silver bands, necklaces, and bracelets, bangles, and anclets of beads and bright cheap metal. Few wear the "nose-bag"; but all, except the very oldest, religiously cover, in the presence of strangers, the mouth, the lower part of the face, and the back of the head. The men do not appear to be jealous, except where they have learned from strangers that it is "respectable."

After death the body is taken out of the tent, washed with the Ghusl el-Mayyit (the "general ablution of the defunct"), and shrouded. The women relatives also leave their homes, strip the cloths off their heads in token of despair, and wail loudly throughout the day. The Naddábah, "keener" or hired mourner, is not known, but a noted amateur

"wailer" is in demand. The exercise is varied by tearing hair, striking the face, and shrieking, "O such a one, where shall I meet thee!" The graveyards are often distant, in which case the corpse, escorted by the family, is carried upon a camel; the favourite site is a hill-top, or the side of a slope, and the Bedawin affect places which preserve signs of the Mutakaddimín (the "Ancients"). Throughout Midian the grave is left hollow, and not filled up with earth, after the fashion of El-Islam; it is covered over merely with a slab: a favourable disposition for hyænas and skull-collectors. The earth is heaped up, and two stones, rude or worked, denote the position of the head and feet. The Wali ("Santon") has a covered tomb, built either of rude masonry or a hut of palm-fronds, reeds, and mats. The interior may contain a broken inscription or two, but rarely the heterogeneous offerings of the more civilised Arabs. Poles are also planted to be hung with rags near the graves of the commonalty.

The Moslem prayers for the dead, consisting of 72 prostrations, are never recited. I could not find out if the Midianitish preserve the peculiar custom of the Sinaitic Bedawin.[37] The latter tap with a small pick-axe at the head of the grave, and thus address the deceased: "When the two green Angels (Munkir and Nakír) shall question thee (the Questioning of the Tomb), then reply thou, 'The feaster makes merry, the wolf prowls, and man's lot is still the same (weal and woe); but I have done with all these things.' The Sidr-tree (Jujube) is thy aunt, and the Palm-tree is thy mother." Such a reply,

[37] See the "Desert of the Exodus," p. 94.

according to Moslem ideas, would ensure a severe application of the dreadful mace. The Walímah, or funeral feast in honour of the deceased, concludes the ceremonies. The property is then divided, and another entertainment takes place *in memoriam* after the fourth month.

The Midianite Arabs resemble in physique those of the Sinaitic Peninsula and the Nile Valley. The tribes in the uplands are fairer and stouter, fleshier and more muscular, by reason of a superior climate and sweeter, or rather less brackish water, than those of the Tihámah or lowlands. The latter, mostly fishermen, and a few cultivators, are darker and slenderer. Some of the higher classes are decidedly handsome, with lithe, erect, muscular figures, and straight features; lamp-black hair, and olive-coloured skins; their fine eyes restless and piercing as the eagle's, with regular brows and the thickest lashes; their high noses and shapely lips, despite the copper-coloured skin and cobweb beard, would be admired in any part of the world. Our friend Sayyid 'Abd el-Rahím, of El-Muwaylah, though built upon a small scale, is perfectly well made; every limb might be modelled for a statue, and his feet and hands are those of a Hindu. Longevity is rare; incessant fatigue and indifferent nourishment, not to speak of wounds, want of cleanliness, and sickness, must soon undermine health and vigour.

The inner (Arab) man is not so easily described. The chief characteristics seem to be strong social affections, eternal suspiciousness, an ultra-Hibernian pugnacity, and a proportional revengefulness. Pa-

rental love is strong, and discipline even stronger. As in the days of Sully, the boy will not eat, or even sit, before his father; but the youth, when old enough to provide for himself, treats his "governor" as lightly as an American lad, considering himself, if not better, at any rate the equal to his sire. Sociability is pushed to the extreme; and the Bedawin are capable of making great sacrifices for one another. Thus, when a man is attacked by the small-pox, which in modern days has taken the place of the horrible plague, he is always interned in a solitary little hut, and cautiously supplied with daily food and water; in many cases, his friends, and even his women, have voluntarily joined with his quarantine. Murder being, as amongst all primitive peoples, a private, not a public wrong, is avenged by the nearest male relative of the slain; and the softer sex has been known to undertake the Kisás ("Lex Talionis"). The Diyat, *blut-geld*, or blood-money, may still be offered and accepted under certain circumstances, but $800 is a large sum. They are marvellously ready, without the excuse of "cups," to quarrel and fight, yet not to kill—at least any but strangers. Excessively ceremonious and sensitive among one another, they bear the petulance and ill-temper of foreigners with a kindly good-humour. Like most barbarians, they are formal when they meet. Relatives and near kinsmen salute by kissing on either cheek, repeating Tayyibin ("Are you well?") to which the answer is, Al-hamdu li-Ulah, Tayyibin! ("Praise be to Allah, we are well!") Friends and acquaintances place the right hands on the opposite left breasts; this is not done when there is "bad blood"

—touching foreheads, and simultaneously ejaculating the Pax tecum, "Salám."

The Shaykhs affect courteous and gentle, mild and placid manners, which, however, do not withstand the temptation of excitement. The Caterans, with their noisy and violent gestures, and their furious clamour, seem to live in a chronic storm of quarrel or fierce debate. The same thing is remarked of Italians by Englishmen visiting them for the first time. Both chief and clansman will draw the sword and load the matchlock without the least intention of coming to blows.

These people love a joke; but the stranger must beware how he "chaffs" them; on some points they are tetchy as the English sailor. The higher classes respect old age, and the white beard always commands an attentive audience. There is little bigotry amongst them, and, if they hate the Christians, it is rather theoretically and nominally, than the result of experience.[38] Nature has put it out of their power to practise the precepts of the Koran. Like all nomads, they act upon the old saying—"We do not fast the Ramazán, because we are half-starved all the year round; we never perform the Ghusl or Wuzú

[38] I note a general error in the English press. When discussing the relative position of Christians and Moslems, throughout the Ottoman Empire, it is almost universally assumed that a professed hatred separates the creeds. My experience teaches me the reverse. The bad feeling is simply the effect of Turkish, that is to say, of bad government. The rulers model their rule upon the old saying, *divide et impera;* and govern by exciting and sedulously maintaining envy, hatred, and malice. During the Massacres of Damascus and Syria, caused, in 1860, by the selfish intrigues of the late Fuád Pasha, the outlying villages of Moslems often mustered in arms to defend their Christian neighbours from the bands of murderers sent by the capital.

(greater and lesser ceremonial ablutions), because we want the water to drink; and we never make the Hajj (pilgrimage), because Allah is everywhere."

Yet they are not irreligious; they do not show the savage atheism of the African negro, while the *sensus numinis* is strongly implanted in the race. I never saw but one Bedawi, Shaykh Furayj, who said his prayers regularly; and when asking a clansman, "Art thou a Moslem or a Huwayti?" (= Englishman or Christian?), the invariable reply was, "A Huwayti!" But this is the merest ignorance, which might perhaps be matched amongst our city Arabs. And they have a devotion after their own fashion; they often make simple ejaculations which seem to come from the heart. Towards evening they will become silent and contemplative; and you may hear them say—"I ask pardon of the great Rabb (Lord); I ask pardon at the sunset, when every sinner turns to Him!" They will exclaim, "O Allah, provide for me even as thou providest for the blind hyæna!" And, ignoring the Koran, they yet use such Koranic ejaculations as "I seek refuge with Allah from Satan the pelted" (*i.e.*, with stones by the angels); "I seek guidance from Allah"; and so forth. Moreover, their profound belief in charms and philters, and their endless superstitious legends, denote that the race is not irreverent. The Huwaytát boast of Fakíhs ("clerks") who have studied theology in Egypt, but I was not fortunate enough to see a specimen.

The difficulty of securing their confidence is immense. It is almost impossible to allay their suspicions without the experience of years. Like the Druzes they will try your sincerity by asking a

question, and by repeating it weeks or months afterwards, carefully comparing the results. Englishmen can manage them, Ottomans never. The latter are always attempting to overreach the Wild Man, and their finessing never deceives him.

The Arab's sentiment of nationality is strong. The Bedawin hate the Turks and the Egyptians as much as the latter despise them. "Shun the Arab and the itch," says the Felláh. "All are traitors in the land of 'Ajam" (Egypt) retorts the Wild Man. In the matter of *meum* and *tuum* they still belong to the days when the Greek was not offended by being asked if he was a thief or a pirate. They are plunderers, but they plunder sword in hand, despising petty larceny. Burckhardt ("Notes" &c., vol. i., pp. 137-157) clearly distinguishes the Bedawi difference between taking and stealing clandestinely. If they appropriate some of the traveller's small gear which may be useful to them, as a leather belt or a blanket, they hardly take the trouble to hide it. The distinction of "mine" and "thine," in such trifles as these, is not thoroughly recognised; and they will say with much truth in jest that as Sayyidná (our Lord) Adam left no will, so all things belong to all (Arab) men. A good sign is that they will leave their slender gear inside the huts, without fear of being plundered during the absence of the owners. They are wreckers; but so we were in the outlying parts of Great Britain during the early parts of the present century. And between their hospitality and their insatiable Semitic greed of gain, there is little interval; the great virtues overlapping the great vices.

Each tribe, moreover, has moral characteristics of its

own. The Huwaytát are considered a strong and by no means a quiet tribe; ill-conditioned, quarrelsome, and on bad terms with all their neighbours. Má ya-hibbún el-Nás ("They do not love mankind"), is the verdict of the settled Arabs. Formerly they pushed their razzias deep into El-Nejd; and their warriors, bold and expert, defended, moreover, by their mountain fastnesses, had no fear of retaliation. They even ventured upon plundering pilgrim caravans, till the great Mohammed Ali's victorious campaigns in the Hejaz; and Ibrahim Pasha's successful invasion of Wahhábi-land, struck them with terror. Prof. Palmer (*loc. cit.*, p. 419) found among the mountains of the 'Azázimah in the far north a heap of stones with the tribal mark of the Huwaytát, the record of some border fray; and about El-Sherá' he describes them as a "powerful but very lawless tribe." In conjunction with the Liyásinah, they have seized Wady Musá, and have ejected its former owners, the 'Ammárín. Rüppell, who judges their morals harshly, mentions (p. 223) that shortly before his visit to El-Muwaylah (1826) the Huwaytát had driven off all the cattle belonging to the fort garrison; and when hotly pursued had cut the throats of the sheep and goats. Wellsted (ii., 109) speaks in 1833 of the "indifferent characters of the Bedawins who inhabit the barren and inhospitable shores of the sea of 'Akabah." He found them a "wild intractable race, much addicted to pilfering." On one occasion, when his ship was in danger, they manned the towering crags in great numbers "so as to be ready for the wreck." Then their chief, Shaykh "'Aláyán of the Omrán" (Imráni-Huwaytát), after

receiving him hospitably at Makná, seized one of his men and, knave-like, demanded a ransom of $200. The sum was paid, there being "no towns nor any boats on which we (the Europeans) could retaliate"; while more than once it appears both officers and crew ran the risk of being taken prisoners and held to ransom. Such were the Huwaytát, and such, without the strong hand of Egypt, they would be again. It is only fair to note that the Northerners, who ever dwell in the presence of hereditary enemies, are more turbulent than the southern Huwaytát, whose neighbours are comparatively peaceful. Yet even amongst the latter the young girls always ran away from our caravans. As has been shown, the Ma'ázah are the villains of the Bedawi drama, while the Maknáwis and Hutaym are the "poor devils"; and the Beni 'Ukbah and Baliyy are noble but old and decayed breeds that greatly want crossing with strong new blood.

The only cultivators, as well as fishermen, are the coast peoples: I saw but a single attempt at a grain-plot in the interior where the Jerafin-Huwaytát dwell. The chief sites are at the Wady-mouths and near the Forts, water being the cause in both cases. The Mazári' or little fields, either open or hedged with matting and bundles of bound palm-frond, or with a snake fence of dry timber, and watered by a raised course now almost always made of earth, carry luxuriant crops of barley, holcus, and Dukhn. The fruits are figs, pomegranates, melons, limes, and the jujube (*Rhamnus nebk*) which is here common, and grapes, which are equally rare.

The vegetables are radishes, mallows (*Mulukhiyyah*), purslain (*oleracea*), and corchorus (*trilocularis*?); tobacco is of course a favourite. The date-palm is the great stand-by. The trees are not thinned, because, when in clumps, they are defended, and they defend the flocks, from the biting cold north wind. For the same reason they are never trimmed, although it is hard to see how, with the *chevaux-de-frise* of drooping dead boughs, the cultivator can get at the fruit. The dates when gathered are placed in circular enclosures of mud and palm-frond, about six feet high, perfectly sun-dried, packed in skins, and sold. The stones, pounded in truncated oven-like cones of swish, are given to the animals as food. I have not yet been able to assist at the celebrated date fair of Makná, held in summer when the fruit is ripe. Formerly this merry-making was celebrated for the hospitality of the Magáni, who supplied the stranger with provisions during his stay. The 200 huts were crowded; and a promiscuous multitude of some 4,000 souls (they say) met to do business, and to settle their quarrels and disputes. The latter were either decided on the spot, or referred to the Shaykhs, the right of appeal to the elders of the tribes being always retained. This annual gathering has greatly fallen off since the wars began. When water fails, the wretched coast people must retire to the mountains of the interior, where the more abundant rains produce better pasture, and gather for sale the poor gum of the Samur-mimosa (*Inga unguis*) or make charcoal of the Siyál (*Acacia seyal*).

Another great industry is fishing; the maritime

tribes are all equally expert with nets and lines. The tackle is poor enough ; their hooks are generally home-made, and their lines are bartered or bought from passing boatmen. Farther down south they dive for Yusr ("black coral") which, ugly as it is, fetches a high price when turned into cigarette-holders.[39] Along the seaboard of Midian a regular pearl-fishery opens with the fine season ; its chief object is the *nacre*,[40] sold for furniture and fancy-work in Egypt and Syria. At times pearls come to hand ; they mostly have the fault of being slightly yellow, yet I have heard of them costing £20 and even £30. The merchants buy the shells by the hundred, and take their chance of finding the precious stone. Of late years Europeans have taught these people the trick of inserting a grain of sand into the oyster.

The trade is by no means so precarious and ill-paid as it was in the days of Wellsted (ii., 236) ; the market is regular and the prices range high. The merchants of Yambú' and Jeddah sometimes send up their Sambúks ; but the task of collecting is mostly left to the Hutaym and the Juhaynah. The fishermen await calm weather, when they pull along the outer edges of the reefs until they discover the oysters in three or four fathoms. During the warm season the youngsters undergo a complete course of training ; and they work till blood starts from eyes, ears, and nose : the people report that

[39] Wellsted (ii., 238) calls it "a species of *neophite* (*sic !*) found near Jiddah," &c.

[40] It is always from the pearl-oyster ; never, as in the Balearic Islands from the Pinna Magna or Giant Mussel.

they are not considered adepts until the drum of the ear is actually ruptured (?). They dive with the aid of a stone fastened to a rope; the first is placed on the former, and the latter is "payed down" as fast as possible after the plunger; a tug on the line is the signal for hauling once more to the surface.

Wellsted, who studied this subject, gives some curious details concerning the extraordinary depths which these Arabs reach; it is regretable that he says nothing about the maximum of time. Personal observation in the Persian Gulf enabled him to assert that there the fishermen rarely descend beyond 11 or 12 fathoms, and even then they always show signs of great exhaustion. But in the Red Sea, old Serúr, his pilot, dived repeatedly to 25 fathoms, without the slightest symptoms of inconvenience. He remained long enough under water to saw off the copper bolts projecting from the timbers of a ship sunk in 19 fathoms amongst the outer shoals of Jeddah. Wellsted saw him often plunge to 30 fathoms; and heard that for a heavy wager he had brought mud from the bottom at 35 fathoms. As the English sailor remarks, "How immense must have been the pressure of the fluid by which he was surrounded!"

Neither Serúr nor his sons, fair "chips of the old block," appeared to fear the sharks: they asserted that the dingy-coloured skin prevents the Arabs being attacked by the "sea-lawyer"; whilst the paleness of the European epidermis "usually proves an irresistible bait to their epicurean palates." Yet the old man bore on his arm a large scar which he got in battle with the "sea-dog," and the latter does

not, as Forskâl observed, confine itself to muddy bottoms. When it was necessary for him to clear the anchor, Serúr armed himself with a knife, which was slung by a loop to his wrist, and "precipitated himself fearlessly to the bottom." Wellsted does not "attach implicit credence to all we hear respecting men killing sharks single-handed in the water." The monsters have prodigious strength and quickness of sight: amongst the reefs they were so numerous and voracious that they often bit in two the large Coral-fish which had been hooked at the bottom, and yet this *Sciæna*, when caught, "flies out and plunges to the end of the line with much violence." Shark-meat is eaten in Midian; but it is not such a favourite food as at Maskat and Zanzibar, where, moreover, it is considered aphrodisiac by the Arabs.[41]

The Midianite tribes dwell both in tents and huts; the latter, mere succedanea for the former, are used only in the hot season when the Bedawin affect the coast. Both are more wretched than the meanest clachan described,

> "With roof-span flattened and with timbers thin,
> Cheerless without and comfortless within."

They are all built much in the same way. Passing through an enclosure of palm-fronds, where the animals are kept, you enter, under a verandah, *atrium* or porch, propped on date-trunks, a dirty hovel built of mats and reeds. The interior is divided into two by a screen of cotton cloth, concealing the women on the right from the men to the

[41] For the flavour of sharks' meat in these seas, see "The Land of Midian (Revisited)," chap. viii.

left.[42] The home,[43] the true abode of the Bedawi, is the tent, pitched as usual in some sheltered valley, or where a tree-clump defends it from the cold winds. These abodes greatly vary, from the tattered cloth thrown over a few peeled sticks, which shelters the family and the few belongings of the poor Hutaymi, to the large awnings of the Shaykhs, which are always on the western side of the encampment (?),[44] and which are known by the upright lance planted alongside. Usually they are the combinations of the poles, some ten feet long, and the cloths of sheep and goats'-hair forming roof and walls, familiar to every traveller in Syria and Bedawi-land. Here, however, the colour is more often striped brown and white than the classical black of Arab and Hebrew poetry. The furniture is simple as the abode: tables, chairs, and beds there are none. The Shaykh sits on a camel-saddle whilst the Cateran squats before him upon the ground. The former sleeps on a rug or Persian carpet; the latter on a mat, or that failing, on the bare floor. The articles of furniture are hand-mills and rub-stones, metal pots (*Gidr*), wooden milk-bowls (*Kadah*), and butter-jars (bought, not made), mortars and pestles

[42] I have described them at full length in my three volumes, "The Gold Mines, &c.," and "The Land of Midian (Revisited)."

[43] Professor Palmer ("Desert of the Exodus," p. 75) says: "Arabic, indeed, is almost the only language besides our own, in which the word 'home,' *watan*, can be expressed." Professor Vámbery somewhere says the same of "votan," the barbarized Turkish corruption. I must differ from both these scholars. "Watan" is used simply as "birth-place," without a shade of the sentiment attached by the English to their "home."

[44] So says Wellsted (ii., 200). I neglected to make inquiries on the subject.

for coffee, water-skins, tobacco, *blagues* of kid-skin, canvas or mat bags for salt-fish and dates, camel-gear, arms, and similar necessaries. In fact, the old-fashioned Gypsy-tent of the English "tinkler" was a good specimen of the Arab's abode. In Midian the camps are not converted into *Dawár* by pitching the tents in a circle fenced in with a low wall of dry stones, or with an impenetrable hedge of the sharp-thorned acacia and mimosa. These Kraals are the biblical Hazeroth, the "fenced enclosures" of the pastoral tribes.

The picture of an evening scene at the Wild Man's home is peculiarly characteristic of his life. As sunset approaches the young men and boys drive in from the hill pastures the tardy camels and asses browsing by the way, while the flocks of sheep and goats troop with tinkling bells and more discipline under the charge of blue-robed matron and maiden. They are received by the lambs and kids which, skipping and bleating their joy, rush from the tents and single out their respective dams. Whilst the younger milk their charges into large wooden bowls, the elder prepare the 'Ashá or supper, this being the principal meal of the day. Amongst the wealthy, menial work is mostly consigned to the negro and the negress. These slaves, who are less numerous than in the south, are not looked upon as inferior beings; nor are they excluded from the right of intermarriage with the free-born.[45] It usually consists, in wealthy tents, of rice swamped with melted butter (*Samn*), and high-

[45] The *Muwallid*, or house-born slave, has become an important element of society. See "The Gold Mines of Midian," p. 124.

piled in round platters; the only form of bread is an unleavened cake of holcus, either eaten simple or mashed with onions and steeped with the water in which meat has been boiled. The men first take their seats round the food; eat their fill, and leave the remainder to the women and children. It is a busy scene before nightfall, and the encampment resounds with the bellowing of camels, the bleating of the flocks, the baying of the dogs, and the shouts of the herdsmen; the birds carol their last song, and already the cry of the jackal is heard in the wilds. The evening is spent in Kayf, squatting either in the moonlight outside, or round the fires inside, the tents; and the Samrah or chat, aided by an occasional cup of coffee and by perpetual pipes, is kept up till a late hour. The bed-chamber is mostly *à la belle étoile.*

Altogether it is a strange survival of those patriarchal days which a curious freak of faith has made familiar, through the writings of the Hebrew bards and seers, to Europe in the nineteenth century; where (marvellous anachronism!) Shem still dwells in the house of Japhet.

The oft-described abstemiousness of the Bedawi rests upon a slender foundation of fact. He *can* live upon what we should call "half-nothing," and he often does live upon it. The dromedary-man will start on a journey of ten to twelve days with his water-skin and a bag of small cakes made of flour kneaded with milk; two of these morsels, or a few boiled beans, form his daily bread; and water is drunk only twice during the 24 hours. Cases are quoted of Arabs who for three years have not tasted

water nor solid food. The high-caste Nejdi will boast that he can live for months, day by day, upon a handful of dates and the milk of a single she-camel. But, like the Spaniard and other peoples of Southern Europe, the Arab never refuses good cheer; and it is "a caution" to see him feed *alle spalle altrui*. His dietary is of course limited in these beefless lands; he prefers antelope to mutton, because he hopes to sell the latter, or to barter it for corn in Egypt; and his meat is chiefly confined to game,—ibex, gazelle, hares, and rarely birds. He ignores poultry; the tame gallinaceæ being confined, as far as I know, to lands that bear the cereals. His grain must be imported, as it is not grown; the same is the case with his coffee; and his vegetables, like his simples, are mostly gathered in the Desert. On the other hand, at certain seasons, dates, fish, and milk are abundant, and he can afford to sell the surplus of his clarified or liquified butter, the great luxury of the East. Spirits of course are unknown, and such intoxicants as opium and hashísh (*Cannabis indica*) are confined to the neighbourhood of the Forts. The Bedawin here and there grow their own tobacco; but they delight in a stronger article, and cigars are in the highest repute. Cigarettes must be made for them, as they cannot make them for themselves. The pipe-bowl is made of steatite, and those of Makná are the most celebrated; the shape of the bowl is a long cylinder, and the cost may be $5 (=£1). The stick is long and hung with various instruments, iron pincers, prickers, and so forth.

In the matter of cookery the modern Midianites are

exceedingly unclean. They eat the entrails of animals after drawing them through their fingers by way of purification. Heads and "trotters" are prepared by partially scraping off the hair, and broiling on the embers—the utmost luxury would be boiling "in two waters." The favourite style of roasting or rather baking is primitive but effectual. A grave-like hole is dug in the sand; the sole and sides are lined with stones, upon which a fire is kindled, and when the oven is heated the embers and ashes are removed. The meat, often a whole lamb or kid, is placed inside, and the hole is filled with sand heaped up as over a corpse. The "bake" takes from half an hour to two hours. At a feast the Shaykh and honoured guests sit apart before one or more dishes containing the more delicate morsels from this "barbecue"; the rest is eaten by the commoners with a huge pile of boiled beans, rice, and flour, mixed together and deluged with Ghi. The repast is sometimes washed down with milk flavoured with Desert herbs. The poorer classes pound their coffee between two stones, instead of the wooden pestle and mortar. Some use for the purpose an earthenware pipkin. The apparatus is a bag to hold the beans; a round Tábah ("iron plate") for roasting and a "Bukraj" or tin pot for boiling—also bought, not made. As water is precious the infusion is black and strong, and consequently drunk out of Finjáns or small cups. The people delight in sugar, which is rare; but mixing milk or cream with coffee would be considered the act of a very madman. A few mouthfuls of this stimulant, even after excessive fatigue, will enable the Bedawin to sit up chatting

about all kinds of tribal and trivial topics, camels and flocks, the affairs of their neighbours, the events of the past, and their plans and projects for the future, till Lucifer appears in the Eastern sky. The women are sent to sleep earlier; they are the working bees of the social hive, who must grind the corn, cook the meal, clean the tent, and convert goats' hair to cloth. The coast tribes live chiefly on fish and shell-fish, milk and dates; grain and meat being reserved for festivals. The guest is received with coffee, milk, and dates. Like all nomads the Arabs never use fresh milk, wisely preferring to "turn" it in the pot rather than in the stomach.

The Bedawi is not without a certain dignity of bearing which is enhanced by his broad and flowing raiment. The dress varies, like his abode, with his ways and means. The Shaykh is often a gorgeous creature. A Kúfiyah[46] ("head kerchief") of silk and cotton, made in Syria, or the Hejaz, is various in colours, but usually striped with marigold-yellow on a brick-dust ground; it is always supplied with tasselled fringe-cords to keep off the flies. This is the best defence from heat and cold—many Europeans have been wise enough to adopt it on the desert road. It is worn without 'Arakíyyah ("white cotton *calotte*"), over the Kurún (small "pig-tails") and the greasy locks which fall in plaits to the waist. The Wahhábis, when in power, opposed this old custom and compelled the Bedawin to curtail their

[46] Wellsted (ii., 210) writes the word "Keïffíyet," and marvellously mistranslates it "convenience, comfort." He thus confuses Kúfiyah with Kayf—different and distinct roots.

love-locks; but these "croppies" presently returned to the habits of their forefathers. The kerchief is kept in place by an A'kál, or "fillet," and the fashions of the latter, which in some cases distinguish the tribe, are innumerable, ranging between a bit of rope and a complicated affair of silk and gold, wood, and mother-of-pearl. The body-dress is a pair of Sarwál ("loose drawers");[47] and a large shirt of unbleached cotton, extending to the knees, is secured at the waist by a leathern girdle carrying the dagger, ammunition, and apparatus for striking fire. The rich add a striped Egyptian caftan with open sleeves. The outer garment is the inevitable 'Abá, or cloak, in India called "camaline."[48] The material preferred by the highest classes is broadcloth, English if possible, and red is ever the favourite colour. The black come from the Hejaz, and are therefore worn only by the rich; the common article is home-made of goats' hair, vertically striped white and brown, and passably waterproof. The feet are protected either by parti-coloured sandals or by Khuff ("riding boots") of red morocco leather. The latter is also the favourite cover for the sabre-sheath. The poor must content themselves with an old head-kerchief and a dirty shirt, whose long open sleeves act, when knotted, like schoolboy's pockets; a greasy leather girdle or baldrick, and a coarse tattooed 'Abá. None are so poor as to walk about without weapons; even a quarter-staff (Nebút) is better than nothing. In the Hismá, where the wintry cold

[47] Strictly speaking, these "bags," so general throughout the East, are not Arab, and the true Bedawi looks upon them as effeminate.

[48] Probably derived from the Hindostani word, Kamli ("blanket").

is severe, the outer cloak is often lined with sheepskin.

The even tenour of the Bedawi's life is varied by an occasional journey for trading purposes; by a campaign, or its imitation, the hunt; and by attending such festivals as the transit of the Hajj caravan. As a rule, the Wild Men are not travellers; each tribe is confined within the strictest limits; and many live and die, like French peasants, without ever having wandered twenty miles from their homes. But increased facility of intercourse has induced several of them to visit the grain-markets of Egypt, Syria, the Nejd, and the Hejáz, with the object of bettering their condition. Success has not often rewarded exertion. The Bedawi, like all barbarians, is cunning and "dodgy" to excess; but he wants capital; he must borrow from the citizen, who is wilier than himself; and his labour often ends in finding himself a hopeless debtor to the extent of several hundred dollars. Once on the wrong side of the merchant's books he can never expect to set himself right. Where money is concerned, the Arab trader never hesitates to lie and to cheat by every means within his reach; in fact, honesty, in the confined sense of the word, is unknown to him. When the bargain is made the Bedawi's word may be taken as his bond, unless he has travelled to Egypt, or has had much to do with strangers at home. And the Bedawi who has not "seen the world" retains the noble prerogative of truth-telling; he disdains and abhors a lie.

The Bedawi camel-man, hired by strangers, is as noisy, insolent, and troublesome before setting out,

as he is civil and willing, patient and docile, after the start. He instinctively wrangles and clamours over the distribution of loads, wishing to spare his own beast at the expense of his neighbour's. His favourite marching time is ever at night, when the animals escape the sun, and can feed freely during the day. Compelled by foreigners to travel at hours which he considers ridiculous, he submits with a grumble to their rude un-Arab ways; but he will not proceed on foot. "The 'Orbán can't walk," was the invariable reply whenever our Bedawin, after loudly complaining that the escort mounted their overloaded camels, were found riding on the line of march. During the heat of the day they wrap themselves in their ragged cloaks, cross their legs beneath them, and sleep soundly, reckless of sun-stroke; whilst the animal, here and there pausing to browse, keeps up its monotonous tramp over the lonely melancholy wilds.

Arrived at the camping-ground the beasts are driven off to feed. An indispensable part of the Bedawi's travelling kit is the coarse round mat (*El-Khasaf*), which is spread under the thorn-trees, acacias, and mimosas, for the operation known as *El-Rama'*. This is a severe and branch-breaking "bashing" with the long stick (*El-Murmár* or *El-Makhbat*), which brings down the flowers and the young leaves. In Sinai the boughs are lopped off; and in all cases the vegetation is seriously injured. The camels on the march should be fed with beans; but this refection is generally reserved for the men, who eat a few handfuls twice a day, washing them down with sparing draughts of water. Those who

can or who will afford better cheer, unbag at the halting-place a little meal of barley; knead it into dough, thrust it into the fire, pull it out, and "break bread." This copious meal is followed by a thimbleful of coffee, and by unlimited pipes of hay-like tobacco. During the evening they sit round the camp-fire, matchlock between knees, with an apparently immovable gravity, which any disputed question at once converts into a scene of violent excitement. For the night, when the cold is unusual, they clear away the embers from the fireplace, scrape up a few inches of soil, and lie in the heated hollow, which must have suggested the warming-pan of civilisation. Under such privations it is not to be wondered at if the travelling Bedawi at times suffers from sickness.

The Wild Man is born hale, sound, and hearty, otherwise he dies in earliest infancy; and, if deformed, he is usually disposed of by some form of "euthanasia." A native of a dry land, he is not subject to the *petite santé* which afflicts his race—for instance, the Arabs of Zanzibar—in the reeking heats of the tropics. I never saw a case of the ophthalmia, almost universal in Egypt; nor of the guinea-worm, so common down coast; as he rarely, if ever, washes in fresh water, the *Vena Medinensis* has no chance. Equally unknown are leg ulcers and the terrible *helcoma* of El-Yemen, especially Aden. But he has nothing, save his sound constitution, to defend him from the fierce alternations of heat and cold. Hence come agues and fevers, asthma and neuralgia, pleurisy and dysentery, not to speak of such imported pests as the "yellow wind" (plague) and small-pox, while

extreme personal uncleanliness induces a cohort of cutaneous diseases. His pharmacopœia consists of a multitude of simples gathered in the wilds; coffee with spices and pepper, and even 'Raki and Cognac are recognised as potent remedies. He practises fumigation and, above all things, counter-irritation by the actual cautery; one of his sayings is, "The end of all physic is fire." The cure in highest repute for rheumatism is extensive scarification of the body and limbs with a red-hot iron; animals are also treated in the same way. A deep incision counteracts the bites of venomous snakes. Almost all the men after a certain age bear signs of wounds, more or less honourable; in such cases simple life in the open air is a certain cure.

The Bedawi is an excellent sportsman. His sharp eyes follow the spoor over the stoniest ground, and, as with his forefathers, El-Kiyáfah ("tracking") is still an instinct. He has endless, indefatigable patience; and, an acute observer of small details, he is perfectly acquainted with the habits and the haunts of his game. When a hare or a partridge takes to the bush he walks round it for some time, well knowing that the frightened animal will rather watch him than rise. Each tribe has a few Sulúki, bastard greyhounds, with feathery tails. I never saw these animals in a state of training like the fine shepherd-dogs; they seem good only to start, and vainly pursue the ibex, the gazelle, and the little long-eared hare. The Midianite kills his small deer, coneys, ducks and partridges by splitting the bullet into four; and, although the big slugs nearly blow the little body to pieces, the meat is

not less fit to eat. The "queen of weapons," as we used to call "Brown Bess," is with him the long-barrelled matchlock; and for a good specimen he will pay $70, or £14, fully equal to 60 guineas in our country. Double-barrels are not wholly unknown, but guns and pistols are confined to the chiefs. The short spear, some eight feet long and pointed at both ends, is not used by the Midianite, though common in the south. The favourite weapon is the sword, a single-edged sabre, kept sharp as a razor; even the boys are armed with blades almost as long as themselves, and on one good old specimen I read the favourite legend, *Pro Deo et Patria*. The chiefs affect what we call the Damascus blade. The crooked jambíyyah or poniard, that serviceable dudgeon which serves equally well to slay a foe or to flay a sheep, is not universally used, as in other parts of Arabia.

Where every man is weaponed, and where every member of a strange tribe is looked upon as a possible Dushmán (enemy),[49] "personal affairs" are by no means rare; and these often end in a kind of battle-royal. As Europe has now fully adopted the national army and the *levée en masse*, which Robespierre revived, if he did not invent it, we might do worse than to borrow a wrinkle from the Bedawin, even as we have copied the Chinese Mandarins in the important matter of competitive examinations. At the end of a campaign in Arabia, both belligerents count the sum total of their dead; and the side which has lost most receives blood-money for the excess. Thus the battles are a series of skirmishes,

[49] The Rev. Mr. Tristram's "Tischmans" ("Moab," p. 278).

and the object is to place men *hors de combat* rather than to slaughter. During the Great Festival there is generally an 'Atwah ("truce") between the combatant tribes, however violent. This armistice serves for the better plundering of the pilgrims.

Besides family and private feasts the Midianites have not a few public festivals. The date gathering at Makná, already alluded to, is one of them; but the grand occasion of the twelve months, the "year-market," as the Germans call it, is the arrival of the Hajj. At such times the tribes pitch near the forts and hold a regular fair. The chiefs attend to receive their annual stipends of coin, clothes, and corn, in return for which they guarantee free passage to the caravan, and safe-conduct for the supplies conveyed to and from the depôts. The poorer classes assemble from all quarters, bringing sheep and goats, milk and butter, forage and firewood, and, sometimes, the aromatic honey found in the hollows of the rocks. These they sell or barter for grain, chiefly holcus, cloth, sulphur, gunpowder, and articles of luxury which they cannot make for themselves. Minor festivals consist chiefly of gatherings at the tombs of their Santons, each of whom has his day; for instance, Shaykh Bákir, near El-Akabah, and Skaykh 'Abdullah, near El-Muwayláh. Here they still practise the rite of sacrifice, which the Koran would limit to pilgrimage-season at Mecca. The animals, whose blood has been sprinkled on the door-posts, are boiled and eaten in public; lamps are then lit; Bukhúr ("incense") is burnt; there is much chatting and chaffing, and the evening ends with a Musámirah, the whole

assembly singing in chorus some such poetry as this :—

"O Shaykh Sálih, we seek thy protection ;
Save the brave, and we will visit thee every year!"

I never heard in Midian the Rabábah or native lute, and yet the songs of our negro escort, and the excruciating blasts of the bugler, seemed to afford unmitigated satisfaction. Elsewhere I have given my reasons for believing that the rite is old; and even that the sites of these visitations belong to pagan times and races whose very names are utterly forgotten.[50]

The passing stranger is apt to suppose that the "leonine society" of the Bedawin ignores or rather despises every form of government; and that the Arab is free as the wind that blows over him. But a longer experience shows that the Shaykhs have considerable power, especially over the poor; and that "public opinion" is strong enough to compel obedience to the law by banishing the refractory one from the society of his fellows. The principal officers of each tribe number three; and the privilege and profits descend in direct line from sire to son. The Shaykh is the ruler in civil matters, and he administers the criminal code, such as it is. He is the agent who représents his followers in all dealings with the Government; he is the arbitrator of disputes amongst fellow-clansmen; and, as his decisions are usually just and impartial, they are readily accepted. He also stipulates for and collects the hire of camels, receiving in return a small commission; but as a rule he must not hire out his own animals. In cases

[50] "The Gold Mines of Midian," p. 133.

of theft, which is considered a civil rather than a criminal matter, he inquires the value assigned to the stolen goods by their owner; lays down a fair compensation, and, in case of the thief refusing to pay, authorises the plaintiff to seize and sell the defendant's possessions, not exceeding, however, the amount fixed upon.

The 'Agíd ('Akíd) is the military officer, the African "captain of war," who during campaigns conducts the fighting men. Among the Sinaitic Tawarah this hereditary commander-in-chief has authority over the whole race. In Midian he merely commands the tribe, unless others accept him of their own free will; he lays down the lines of the attack, whose principal object is plunder; and, besides being a brave warrior, a swordsman of repute, and a dead shot, he must be great at surprises, ambuscades, and what is generically called Hílah, "arts and strategems," some of them unjustifiable enough. Hence cattle wantonly slaughtered, and date-trees roasted to death by fire. His authority extends only to military operations as long as they last: in time of peace he becomes a mere Shaykh, respected or not according to merit or demerit, success or failure.

The third is the Kázi el-'Orbán ("Judge of the Arabs"). He is generally a sharp-witted greybeard, who has at his fingers' ends the traditions, the precedents, and the immemorial Rasm ("custom") of the tribe; usually he is a man of good repute, but not a few Kázis are freely charged, like their more civilized brethren, with "eating bribes." His principal and most troublesome duty is that of recovering debts; disputes upon this subject cause

an infinite amount of bad blood. The mode of procedure is as follows:—When payment is refused, and the defendant as well as the plaintiff agree to contest the matter, the claimant appears before the judge, and deposits a pledge equal in amount to the sum demanded; the recusant does the same, and the cause is pleaded freely and fully by both parties. When the Kázi has decided, appeal may be made to the elders of the tribe, but a fresh pledge must be deposited; and, if the defendant finally refuse to pay, the plaintiff is authorised by the general voice to levy execution by force or fraud.

The superstitions of the Bedawi are simply innumerable, many of them are of course connected with beasts and birds. Forskâl, the naturalist, gives the names of half-a-dozen animals which appear to be partly the creation of a lively fancy.[51] The Nimr (leopard) is a man translated. The same is the case with the Wabr (*feli similis, sine caudâ, herbiphagus, monticola; caro incolis edulis*); they call this coney "man's brother," and point in proof of its transformation to the shape of the hands and feet. The Tawarah of Sinai refuse its flesh, declaring that if a man were to do so he would never look upon his parents again. The Midianites set the rabbit-like incisors, by way of ornament, in the stocks of their matchlocks. The hyæna's brain is secretly administered as a sedative to jealous husbands, and the boiled flesh of the "Zaba'" is a specific for various diseases.

[51] For instance, El-'Arj (a hyæna); El-Ya'ár, resembling an ass in ears and stature; El-Shansur, a cat-like animal that eats poultry and makes a noise when walking.

There are many stories concerning Abú'l-Husayn (the "Father of the Fortlet"), as they call the fox; the latter catches hares by tickling them with its brush, and fastening upon their throats. The Hudhud or Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*), is respected on account of its connection with Solomon. The owl is a bird of many tales: its burnt feathers are used for charms, and its death-signifying cry "Fát, fát," near a sick man's tent, is interpreted "He's gone, he's gone." In Sinai a favourite charm is made from the Rakham (*percnopter*, vulture), "tinted by the hand of the Prophet's daughter," that is, when the breast is variegated. After the body has been buried for 40 days, the remains are boiled, and the white bone, which sticks up the highest in the pot, is taken to a retired spot, far from men and dogs. The wicked Jinns—spirits created of pure smokeless fire, not of red clayey earth like men—then appear and frighten the adept; if he be stout of heart they make way for the good Jinns, whose revelations are as marvellous as any recounted by ancient or modern spiritualism. This bone is also an efficacious love-charm; rubbed against a girl's dress it is as efficacious as kissing the "Blarney-stone."[52] Snakes are sometimes seen fighting for a bead or a gem; this valuable protects the wearer from the bites and stings of all poisonous animals. There are no professional serpent-charmers, but each tribe will have one or more Háwi ("snakers") who, besides being venom-proof, can staunch wounds and cure hurts by breathing upon them. In Sinai the Cross is a potent charm worn by the Bedawin in their turbans, carrying

[52] See "The Desert of the Exodus," p. 98.

it in their religious processions, and sometimes placing it at their tomb-heads. In Midian I found the emblem used only in the Wusúm or tribal marks.

The Bedawin are deficient, like all barbarians, in the generalizing faculty, and, consequently, in its expression; for instance, they have no term for the Red Sea, or the Western Ghâts. Yet every natural object, mountain or rock, ravine or valley, has at least one name, and the nomenclature should carefully be preserved; it is well-sounding and singularly pertinent in describing physical aspects. As is the case with most races in the same stage of civilization, the people are unwilling to retain expressions which they themselves cannot understand; and these are modified to make them intelligible. There are, however, many terms that have no sense, or whose original meaning has been forgotten, *e.g.*, no Arab could explain to me why the little quarantine port is called El-Wijh el-Bahr or, "The Face of the Sea." Yet, as I have before remarked, when they do retain a name, pure or corrupted, as El-Khaulán for Hawilah and Es-Sabá for Sheba, we may safely rely upon it.

I do not believe, with the Archbishop of Dublin, that Arab tradition, *fossilised* in their nomenclature, "often furnishes undying testimony to the truth of Scripture." In Egypt and Sinai the traditions of Moses, for instance, are clearly derived from the early Christians, and consequently are of no value. The "Saturday Review" (May 25th, 1878), in a notice of my first volume on Midian, remarks: "The Arabs talk of some (?) Nazarenes, and a 'King of the Franks' having built the stone huts and the

tombs in a neighbouring cemetery ('Aynúnah). But there can be no local tradition worth repeating in this instance." Here we differ completely, and those will agree with me who know how immutable, and in some cases imperishable, Arab tradition is. What strengthens the Christian legend is that it is known to man, woman, and child throughout the length and breadth of the land of Midian. The Bedawin, who regard themselves as immigrant conquerors from Arabia Proper, generally apply this term to the former inhabitants. But in this case the term "Nasárá" was absolutely correct. We know from history that Mohammed visiting (A.H. 9=A.D. 630) Tabúk, a large station on the eastern road, preached a sermon of conversion to its Christian and Jewish population. Finally, our discoveries of coins and inscriptions determined that these Nazarenes of Midian were Nabathæans.

The Bedawin are unalphabetic; consequently they have no literature. Their only attempt at writing is the Wasm (plural, Wusúm) or tribal marks, straight lines, rings and crosses, either simple or compound, laboriously scraped upon hard stones. I made a collection of these figures, which have been described as "ancient astronomical signs": they are sometimes historically interesting. For instance, the sign of the 'Anezah is mostly a circle, the primitive form of the letter Ayn in Arabic, Oin in Hebrew, which begins the racial name. At present it would be unintelligible to a learned Moslem. We were often led far out of our way to inspect "writings" that turned out to be nothing but Wasm: this suggests that the art, which survives in Sinai, is here dying out.

At the same time the common marks are still known to the chiefs. Like the Gypsies of Southern Europe, they can give notice of the road which they have taken by drawing a line, called El-Jarrah, and printing the naked foot upon it, with the toes pointing in the required direction.

The Midianites are still in the social state where prose is unknown. All their compositions are in verse, invariably rhymed; and the *improvvisatore* is not unknown. They consign to song everything which strikes them by its novelty. For instance, my fur pelisse procured me the honour of being addressed as follows :—

"O Shaykh, O wearer of the costly fur,
Whither thou leadest us, thither we go!"

They have love-songs, and especially war-songs: of the latter I will offer these specimens :—

1.

"Loose thy locks with a loosing (*i.e.*, like a lion's mane),
And advance thy breast, all of it (*i.e.*, *opponite pectora*).

2.

"O man of small mouth (*i.e.*, *un misérable*),
If we fail, who shall win?"

3.

"By thy eyes (I swear) O she-camel, if we go
(to the fray) and gird (the sword),
"We will make it a sorrowful day to them and
avert from ourselves every ill."

Such, then, is the Bedawi of Midian, who resembles in so many points his congeners in other parts of Arabia. He is not an Ishmaelite; but he has inherited all the turbulence and the rapacity which

the ancient Hebrews (Genesis xvi., 12) attributed to their elder brethren. The reformed doctrines of the Wahhabís are not likely, in these days, to travel so far westward, and the only hope for the country, *quamdiu Arabes sua bona ignorant*, is, I repeat, an extension of the strong-handed rule of Egypt. This comparatively civilised form of government suits the condition of the actual races. It is the first step in the path of progress, and it will lead, when the rich metalliferous deposits shall be worked, to the conditions which the French have introduced into Algeria.

THE PARIS INTERNATIONAL LITERARY CONGRESS, 1878, AND THE INTERNATIONAL LITERARY ASSOCIATION.

BY C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

(Read June 25th, 1879.)

THE fact of the assembling in London this year of the Second International Literary Congress seems to render it desirable that I should take the present opportunity for giving our Society some account of the first Congress, which I attended in Paris last year, as one of the delegates nominated by the Council.

The idea of convoking such a meeting originated, we are informed, with the "Société des Gens de Lettres de France," which has its head-quarters in Paris, and which has for its President one of the most widely known of living French authors, M. Edmond About. The work and the object of the French "Société des Gens de Lettres" alike differ in several essential respects from our own. While the Royal Society of Literature is, in the terms of its Charter, a scientific, collegiate body, dealing with Literature from its philosophical and theoretical rather than its active side, the "Société des Gens de Lettres" seems to me, if I understand its constitution rightly, to be, in the main, a Society for the protection of the rights of authors. Such an object

is in itself, of course, a good one, and it may be more or less necessary in particular countries that societies should be constituted to carry it out. But it is work of an entirely different kind from that which we were founded to do; and it is work which, as I read our Charter, we could certainly not undertake without an alteration in our constitution such as I see no reason to urge upon this Society. I say this much on the subject of the character of our Society and the "Société des Gens de Lettres," in order that my conception of their respective fields of work may be made clear at the outset, and in order that it may be seen at once that I shall throughout regard them, and any societies founded through the agency of either, as entirely distinct bodies, each with a good work of its own to do. In so far as I need state my personal opinion, it is to the effect that, whether as regards the parent French Society, of which I have first of all spoken, or the International Literary Association, of which I shall presently speak, independent action will be best for all parties.

I wish well to all good work that is done for Literature from any one of its many sides, but I can see no advantage in attempting to fuse separate lines of thought and of action, which I believe likely to produce better results by being kept apart.

Having thus defined the point of view from which I shall consider the work of the Paris Literary Congress, it may be well that I should introduce you to some of its leading members, before proceeding to give an account of the part they played in the discussions, and of the subjects they brought before our notice. "Facilè princeps," I need scarcely say,

stood the name and the fame of Victor Hugo, whose oratory seemed to have all the fire of a renewed youth, as he apostrophised the nations of the world, and called up the memories of their literary glory in the great public meeting at the Châtelet. Of Edmond About, his versatile genius, and his keen satire, it is hardly necessary to remind any one here to-night. But, on the whole, it was rather the practical side of his character, of which we had evidence during our sessions in the hall of the "Grand Orient" of France. One of the most attractive figures in the gathering was undoubtedly the venerable Ivan Tourgenieff, the Nestor of contemporary Russian literature. His patriarchal appearance and his unvarying gentleness of manner could not but make him one of the most charming of colleagues. But his very gentleness, not being supplemented by the firmness necessary to the chairman of a mixed and often discordant meeting, rendered his tenure of the presidential chair but too often the sign for a Literary Babel. From half-a-dozen points, at least, would rise the cry, "Je demande la parole!" with perhaps opposing cries of "Clôture!" according as our brethren of the Congress either wanted to air their particular views, or to stop the mouths of would-be orators by getting the chairman to pronounce the discussion closed. To cope with such stormy scenes was clearly beyond the power of our Russian Vice-President; he had written powerfully of the "virgin soil" of his native land, and had sown Thought broadcast over that soil; but the conduct of public meetings was evidently a virgin soil which Tourgenieff could not prepare for

the harvest. When he had tinkled his presidential bell, and made ineffectual appeals to our sense of order, which rarely went beyond an expostulatory "Mais, Messieurs!" despair seemed to settle down on him, until M. About, or some other strong-minded Vice-President, came to the rescue, and there was once more peace in Israel. I am afraid you will think from what I have been saying that we were a very unruly team to be harnessed to the chariot of Literature. I must admit that some of us did want to be kept firmly in hand, more especially in the General Meetings. But this was partly due, I think, to a want of organisation, which pervaded the entire arrangements of the Congress, as well as to the inordinate length of time, as it would seem to English minds, over which the sittings were spread. The result was, I think it would not be inaccurate to say, that nothing ever took place exactly as it was laid down on the programme, and that nobody ever knew exactly what was the question properly before the meeting. Such a "décousu" in the debates as I have felt obliged to confess, is entitled, under the circumstances, to a more lenient judgment than we might otherwise feel bound to pass upon it. And since in those debates "pars minima fui," I must ask you to extend this leniency of judgment to myself and my colleague at the First Literary Congress, and to believe that the delegates of our Society, at least, were not art and part in vexing the gentle soul of Ivan Tourgenieff. But it is sincerely to be hoped that the experience gained in the first meeting will not be lost upon the second, and that I may have in that respect a different story to tell of the London

Literary Congress.[1] If I may suppose myself of sufficient importance to have been a source of vexation to any one at the Paris Literary Congress, I think it must have been to the general body of members, who could not at all understand, or who at least appeared unable to understand, my reasons for abstaining from any voting whatever in the public sessions. In the sectional meetings which I attended, this line of inaction, if I may so term it, was, I believe, rightly appreciated. The fact was simply this, that having clearly defined my position before starting as a delegate "ad referendum,"—to watch proceedings and report upon them to this Society,—I did not feel that I could consistently give votes on a number of very complicated literary and juridical questions, most of which are still under discussion, and upon none of which would it have been desirable even to seem to bind this Society, unless I had been charged with a distinct opinion which, under particular circumstances, the Society might have desired to express. The section to which I attached myself, as being the one most directly connected with the subject of Copyright, contained within it, I think, the largest proportion of members of the French Bar. They at least, I believe, quite understood my line, as to which, if I had been inclined to waver at all, any doubts would have been set at rest, so far as my own mind was concerned, the moment my section took up

[1] I had written this expression of my hopes before the London Congress had commenced its sittings. I leave it in my text to show the feelings with which I approached the Second Literary Congress, on the practical question of orderliness in debate. I regret to be obliged to say that in this respect the Congress, like certain exiled monarchs of old, had forgotten nothing, and learned nothing.

the discussion of a proposition which it desired to lay down as axiomatic, to the effect that Copyright is "not a concession of the law, but one of the forms of property which it is the duty of the legislative body to protect."[2] If language has any meaning other than that of concealing thought, such a proposition appears to me now, as it did then, to be in direct conflict with the general doctrine of English law. For amid the many ambiguities, and doubts and uncertainties, which the report of the Royal Commission on Copyright has brought to the surface, one point at least seems to be free from doubt, and that is, that our existing law of Copyright, whether good, bad, or indifferent, is the creation of statute law, and the same holds good, I think, with the United States. I speak under correction, of course, upon such a question, but such is the conclusion to which the consideration of the Statute of Anne and of the Act of Congress of 1790, has led me. And even if that conclusion were more doubtful than it may be held to be, I yet feel, as I felt then, that I could not well do more than listen to a discussion of the proposed axiom that "the author's right," which we call Copyright, is "not created, but only assured by Law." To lay down such a proposition at all was, in my view, unnecessary, if not irrelevant, to the carrying out of the work of the Congress. To make it axiomatic was in all probability to alienate some who

[2] I may add that an exactly identical doctrine has been laid down at two subsequent International Congresses held in Paris in 1878, viz., the Art Copyright (Propriété Artistique), and Patent and Trade-mark Congresses (Propriété Industrielle). It is therefore no isolated phenomenon, but an unmistakable indication of a powerful and wide-spread school of thought.

sympathised with the general objects of the meeting, but who, like myself, were not prepared to fly in the face of the existing jurisprudence of their respective countries. I do not yet see how this difficulty is to be met either by the Literary Congress, or by its permanent representative, the International Literary Association.

For the words of the resolution of the Paris Congress on this head are very clear and emphatic.

"Le droit de l'auteur sur son œuvre," so runs the resolution, "constitue *non une concession de la loi*, mais une des formes de la propriété que le législateur doit garantir."

I cannot but think that there is here some confusion of thought, viewing the question as one of theory, and without reference to the countries in which the right under discussion is, for practical purposes at least, a "concession de la loi." I do not myself see any abstract impossibility in the existence of some forms of property created by positive law, side by side with others created, if you like so to put it, by the natural law. As a purely theoretical question, it might, I think, have been asked whether Copyright was not in its essence a right of property derived from natural law. But it might also have been asked, I conceive, (and this, I think I may say, is the view to which, in such a speculative inquiry, I should have inclined), whether the conception of property and the law of property are not coincident in date, *i.e.*, whether we may not, or even perhaps ought not, to say, that as soon as property existed at all, whether tribal, communal, or individual, there existed also the law of property.

It would, from this point of view, have been quite sufficient to have laid down that "Copyright is one of the forms of property which ought to be protected by law." Having regard to the constant infractions of the rights of authors, which are but too manifest in the most widely distant portions of the world, such a declaration would have been entirely within the competence of the Congress, but it was not enough to satisfy the majority of the members. Their very next affirmation was, in my opinion, equally extravagant, and shut me out quite as thoroughly as the previous one from anything more than the attitude of a listener, interested, indeed, but unable to acquiesce in the march of events, or to help it on. When the question of the duration of Copyright came to be debated, the resolution of my section was framed in the following uncompromising language.

"Le droit de l'auteur, de ses héritiers et de ses ayants-cause, est perpétuel."

When perpetuity has once been laid down it would seem as if there were nothing more to be said. Yet my section saw what the Congress does not appear to have seen, that Literature might be brought to a sorry pass if the continuators of the legal "persona" of an author, with their rights "in sæcula sæculorum," were to decline to publish new editions of the works of which they were the owners. So the following rider was added: "Néanmoins, pourra être déchu de ses droits, l'héritier qui sera resté vingt années sans publier l'œuvre dont il est propriétaire." So that, after all, even the supporters of the doctrine of the perpetuity of Copyright seem to find that they must draw a line somewhere

These mitigations, however, did not find favour with the general body of the members, for in voting the resolutions of the first section, the paragraph decreeing the loss of the heir's rights, if he should have abstained for the space of twenty years from publishing a work inherited by him, was omitted. The text as finally settled, passes on at once to lay down the principle that "republication may take place, on condition of paying a Royalty to the heirs, *immediately on the expiration of the period allowed for the author's rights by existing legislation.*"

It appears to me, on reviewing the proceedings of the Paris Congress, that there was a conflict, though perhaps an unconscious conflict, in the minds of the members between their strong desire to lay down the perpetuity of the author's rights, and their equally strong desire to allow so much freedom of reproduction as they could manage to make consistent with that doctrine by means of the Royalty system, which is that advocated by Sir Louis Mallet, in his separate report as one of our Royal Commission on Copyright. So far as I can see, this solution is not as yet in much favour among ourselves, but it is undoubtedly both popular with many continental jurists, and also embodied in the legislation of several continental countries. It has been recently advocated, in a paper read before the Law Amendment Society at one of their sessional meetings,[3] by Mr. J. Leybourn Goddard, who was Secretary of the Royal Commission, and who in his paper seemed to make himself the advocate rather of

[3] Read June 9th, and printed in the "Sessional Proceedings" of the Association (vol. xii, No. 10), for 30th June, 1879.

Sir Louis Mallet's views than of those of the Commission generally. The Royalty system has been strongly advocated by Mr. Macfie of Dreghorn, both in his evidence before the Commission, and in a book which he has lately published,[4] the whole tendency of which is to support that system "as a means for cheapening books." I do not feel called upon either myself to give an opinion here on the relative advantages and disadvantages of the Royalty system, or to ask our Society to record a corporate opinion thereon. It will be sufficient for me to have drawn your attention to it, as one of the principal solutions of the Copyright question adopted by the Paris Literary Congress. But I may very naturally be asked to set before you what was the *practical* result of the First International Literary Congress, apart from the passing of the various resolutions which I have mentioned. To this question the answer appears to me to be clearly this: The Congress founded a permanent body to continue its work, under the title of the International Literary Association (Association Littéraire Internationale), with Victor Hugo for its Honorary President, and Frédéric Thomas, and Mendes Leal, Portuguese Minister in Paris, for the Presidents of its Executive Committee, the headquarters of the Society being fixed in Paris. This is the body which convoked the Second Literary Congress, whose sittings in London have only ended within the last few days, after much warm discussion of the thorny subjects of Translation and Adaptation. It would not be possible for me, in the time at our

[4] "Copyright and Patents for Inventions," vol. i. "Copyright," by R. A. Macfie. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1879.

disposal, to enter upon a detailed account of the London Congress, and I think that it is as yet too fresh in our minds for us to be able to discuss its proceedings with judicial calmness. But, on the other hand, some account of the Society which has undertaken, amongst its various tasks, the work of educating the world up to the level of its doctrines by means of Annual International Congresses, will not be out of place, and may pave the way to a right appreciation of the labours of that recent gathering at the rooms of the Society of Arts, during which, as our Daily Press remarked, such very "lively" scenes were enacted. The International Literary Association, owing its origin to resolutions passed at the Paris Literary Congress on the 28th June, 1878, has for its object, "1st, the defence of the principles of Literary Property: 2nd, the organisation of regular intercourse between Literary Societies and authors (écrivains) in all countries: 3rd, the initiative of all foundations of an International Literary character." So, at least, we read on p. 3 of the 4th No. of the "Bulletin" of the Association for May—June, 1879. But there is an apparent antinomy, which I pointed out to M. About on the first day of the recent Congress in London, between the account which I have cited from the 4th No. of the "Bulletin," and the account of the nature and objects of the Association printed on p. 8 of the 1st No. of the "Bulletin," published in December, 1878. We there read in the "Règlement" of the Association that its objects are, "1st, to establish permanent relations between the authors (écrivains) of all countries, to afford aid and support to all its

members and to facilitate the universal diffusion of the Literatures of the various countries: 2nd, to defend and propagate the principles embodied (consacrés) in the decisions of the International Literary Congress." It seemed to me at the time, and it still seems to me, notwithstanding the explanations kindly given by M. About and M. Lermina, that there is an actual difference between these two formulæ, and that there might conceivably be a very serious difference between "the principles of Literary Property," and "the principles embodied in the decisions" of a particular Congress. The explanations of M. About and M. Lermina practically amounted to this, that we were "seekers after Truth" in this matter of Literary Property, and presumably, therefore, had not yet found it, and therefore, also, had not as yet any fixed and unalterable formula. Furthermore, we were told that each Congress was sovereign during its corporate existence, and therefore, as I understand it, "autant de Congrès, autant de Souverains," is the nearest approach to a formula which we can at present lay down. I think myself that the language used in drawing up the original deed of constitution, so to speak, at the First International Literary Congress, is the only strictly authoritative language to which we can refer, and I also think that its terms admit of the interpretation which I should like to see distinctly accepted, that nobody is bound by the fact of membership to any one special theory of Literary Property. It is evident that, as a matter of fact, very different opinions are held within the Association, and I do not see how it can well be otherwise. What I do

not like is the appearance of being bound to the theory of the perpetuity of Copyright, which was undoubtedly laid down as a fundamental principle by the Paris Congress, though disputed by individual members both at the Paris and London meetings. I believe that the good work which the Association has it in its power to do would be materially assisted by the freedom of members on all questions of theory concerning Literary Property, while they should be united on the ground of practical usefulness which they have as a body taken up. This ground, however, is necessarily a somewhat more prosaic one than that which Victor Hugo has seen the Association occupy, in his glowing visions of the Future. "The race of men of letters," said their distinguished President, in reply to a deputation from the Association, "few in numbers, will lead; the nations will follow. Out of this vast spiritual brotherhood will spring Universal Peace. Your work is a great one, it will succeed. It cannot meet with hostility, for it answers to the ideal of a community which all men ardently desire. You are younger than I am, you will reap its fruits. I have always thought that out of the brotherhood of letters would spring the pacification of souls."

It seems almost bathos to turn from this poetic salutation of the International Literary Association by one who may fairly be called the Nestor of French Literature, to the dry details of the profitable business which that Society thinks it sees its way to securing. It aims, as I understand its programme, at nothing less than becoming the one recognised medium of Translation throughout the Republic of

Letters. This is a tolerably wide programme, and a sufficiently bold one. If it were to succeed, then, doubtless, as M. Pierre Zaccone, one of its founders, took occasion to observe at one of the earliest sittings of the new body (19th October, 1878, reported in the "Bulletin," No. 1, for December, 1878), "the rights of Translation might become a source of profit to members." A comfortable suggestion, and likely perhaps to dispose some waverers to join, but it is one which reveals an ideal many degrees less sublime than "Universal Peace," and the "pacification of souls."

In saying this I am far from undervaluing, or wishing to seem to undervalue, the good work which such an International Literary Association may do. I do not, indeed, myself think that either the aims which Victor Hugo dreams of, or the golden vision of a sole recognised medium of Translation for all the world, are likely to be realised by the Society. But it is a good work to bring men of letters together from the uttermost parts of the earth, even though they should not hear the wisdom of Solomon when they have come together. It is also a good thing to gather up notices of the existing state of Literature in the various countries of the world, as is done in the "Bulletin" of the International Association. Only I may be permitted to remark that, judging by the want of editorial care which most sadly mars the utility of the "Bulletin," the Association itself has something to learn ere it can aspire to be accepted as an "arbiter elegantiarum" in the world of letters. Until a considerable amendment makes itself manifest in this department of the Society's work, it is

scarcely likely that authors will part with their MSS. for the purpose of securing the simultaneous appearance of their original and its translations through the medium of the Association. That such a body should furnish authors, publishers, and translators, with all the information necessary to guard their respective interests, is a reasonable and useful proposal. That a translation, when published through them, should bear the imprint "Sole Translation authorised by the Author and by the International Literary Association," is also a reasonable proposal. But I fail to see that the author has any greater certainty of securing a really good translation through the International Literary Association than he might obtain through his own knowledge, or through an ordinary publisher. The value of stating that a given translation is authorised by the International Association will clearly be proportionate to the value which time may prove the imprimatur of the Association to deserve. Let the International Literary Association go on its way of practical usefulness, bringing together men of letters from all parts of the world, and accumulating such information as may be of value to them in their undertakings, and it will establish a claim upon our high regard. Let the Congresses which the International Association year by year convenes be convened, not to support this or that particular theory, not to make demands which it is the height of improbability that any Legislature will ever grant, but to consider in sobriety of spirit what amendments may from time to time be proposed in Municipal Law, or in International Conventions; then indeed, the Association

will deserve the best thanks of men of letters. In such a field of usefulness, I think I may say that the hearty sympathy of the Royal Society of Literature would be given to the work of the International Literary Association. We shall, in any case, watch its progress with interest, in so far as that progress may be identified with the advance of Literature. For, as Victor Hugo said, in his magnificent address to the Paris Congress at the Châtelet Theatre, "Literature and Civilisation are identical. Literature is the mind of man setting forth on its travels. Civilisation is the sequence of discoveries which the mind of man makes at every step on its journey, *i.e.*, Progress. We all, you and I, are fellow-citizens of the State Universal. We are assembled together for no personal or selfish interest, but for the interest of all. The Nations are measured by their Literature, not by their numbers. Armies perish: the Iliad remains. Greece, small in point of territory, is great through Æschylus. Rome is but a town: yet through Tacitus, Lucretius, Virgil, Juvenal, that town fills the world with her fame. We want light, always, everywhere! give heed if you will, to the lighting of your streets; but give heed also, give heed above all, to the lighting of your minds!" Thus spoke Victor Hugo, recalling to mind at various points that lament of Otto, the wonder of the world, which sings of the world-capital, "O Rom! du bist so klein," and those last words of Goethe, in which he cried for "Light! more light!" If Literature be in truth identical with Civilisation, then the more we can do for Letters the more shall we be advancing the interests of the Civilised World. All who would work for this high

end must work for it in the spirit which the Nestor of French Literature so well laid down in one of the passages which I have cited, namely, as "citizens of the State Universal"—that "great state of the Universe" of the Stoic Philosophy, whereof "all the isolated states on earth are but houses and streets," and wherein is "no distinction between Greek and barbarian, bond and free, except virtue."[5] Such was the vision of the sages of old. The walls of the city they dreamed of have not yet risen before us. Many workers are doubtless needed for the building. Let us offer ourselves, to do what we can, and, waiting for the dawn of the day when our eyes may see that vision in its beauty, let us at least say, "Fiat Lux."

[5] "North British Review," No. LXXXVIII, June, 1866; Art. I. "The Roman Element in Civilisation."

SOME ASPECTS OF ZEUS AND APOLLO WORSHIP.

BY C. F. KEARY, ESQ.

[Read November 26th, 1879.]

In the Greek images of the gods there is often so little individuality that, if we took away some external attributes or symbols which accompany the figures, and which are no more than a kind of labels to them, we might be in danger of confounding one divinity with another; of mistaking Athênê for Hêra, Hermês for Apollo, Poseidôn or Hadês for Zeus. In the case of the Panathenaic Frieze, for instance, that sculptured procession which once adorned the second wall of the Parthenon, we do really find ourselves in such a dilemma. In the centre of the composition is a group of persons, whom, by their superior size above the mortal stature, we know to be intended for gods, but for what particular ones among the Olympians, it is still a matter of dispute. In the case of one or two we are able to fall back upon the helping symbol—as the shoes and petasos of Hermes; the ægis of Athênê; the wings of Erôs—but we shall never get beyond a probable conjecture for the greater number. The difficulty does not arise solely nor even chiefly from the disfigurement of the faces in this case. Some of them, at all events, are well preserved; yet we cannot say that these are distinguishable by the

countenance alone. Poseidôn for all the character which he displays might as well be Zeus.[1]

I do not say that in general the antiquarian is left quite at a loss. His skill is to interpret small signs which would be unnoticed by common observers; to read, as it were, the mind of the artist, and not look from the position of those for whose sake the artist wrought. But the existence of such means of discrimination does not affect the general truth of the proposition, that to the ordinary glance, to any one not initiated into the secrets of the worker, there would be such a class likeness among certain orders of the divine beings that no single individuality would seem to step out from among them. And if we take this art to reflect—as art always seems to reflect the best—the popular religion of the day, we must confess that no very strong individuality would have been felt to attach to any one among the gods.

But art itself comes late in the history of Greece, and no condition of thought which existed then is any proof of like thoughts in the heroic age, centuries before, when as yet Greek sculpture was scarcely born. The religion which finds such an expression as in the sculpture of the days of Pheidias is very different from the creed of primitive times. Polytheism is come near to its latter days when the gods have grown so much alike, and when all seem to express the same ideal. So far as the Greek gods are now not men, so far as they contain some divine

[1] *See* "Guide to the Elgin Room, British Museum," by C. T. Newton. Michàelis' "Parthenon," and Flasch's "Zum Parthenon." Some of the points in dispute are very curious; that for example between the maiden Artemis and the sad matron Dêmêtêr as the bearer of the torch.

nature in them, this nature is the same for all. And the god-like *idea*, or, to put it more in the language of philosophy, the abstract conception of a god, will soon attach specially to some particular member of the pantheon, who, like the later Zeus of the Greeks, will thus become *the* god *par excellence*, ὁ θεός; then the monotheistic goal will have been reached. For when in character the gods have become much the same, the difference between one and another of them must depend altogether on external surroundings. Some have a greater majesty in the eyes of their worshippers, and receive more reverence; but it is because their rule is wider, not because they are in themselves different from their brothers. But for the limit of their various domains all the gods are alike; they are many kings, whose empires are not the same, yet still all kings. And the most powerful anon becomes in heaven, as he would become on earth, an over-king to all the others, the *bretwalda*, as it were, until at last he brings the rest under him, and reigns alone. He is the single *god*; the other divine powers sink to positions like those which occupy the saints of the mediæval calendar.

In truth, when we look closer at the Greek pantheon, the pantheon of sculpture and of all art, we find that the process of absorption has already gone far, and that the almost complete uniformity among the divine faces has arisen from the constant tendency to assimilate to one or two leading types. Among the gods, for instance (and we will speak in this place only of the male divinities), amid the general likeness we discern two types, which are

certainly distinct; there is at least the difference between the bearded and the beardless god, the mature god and the youthful; in a word, between Zeus and Apollo. And it is the Zeus and Apollo faces which convert to a likeness of themselves the types of the other deities. That fair young face which we see in its dawn in archaic sculpture and follow downwards, as it grows continually in beauty and dignity, is most often the face of an Apollo. Zeus is just as much the ideal of the grave, mature ruler, the divine counsellor and just judge, the *γερων*, as it were, of the heavenly assembly.[2] And if we fancy a Greek in the solitude of his chamber, or in the more moving solitude of woods and meadows, stirred with some sudden strong religious impulse, we may be sure that among the faces of the gods, the face of one of these two, the countenance of Zeus, or of his son, would rise into his mind.

To what, then, did these two gods owe the persistence of their characters? Why was it that their countenances were fashioned in a more divine form than those of other Olympians? When a religion is in such a transition state as was the creed of historic Greece, we may look two ways. We may look forwards and turn our thoughts chiefly to the god-idea which men have attained unto, and so regard their belief as to all intents a monotheism. This is to see it in its ethical or strictly religious bearing. Or we may regard it in an aspect which is rather

[2] Not, of course, precisely the Spartan *γερων*, member of the *γερουσια*, who must be sixty years of age. Zeus we might imagine from thirty-five to forty. He would then be five to ten years above the lowest limit for the Athenian *βουλη*.

mythological than religious, and trace back the different characters of the gods to the outward experience whence they took their being, to the natural phenomena out of which they have grown. And looking upon the face of the Olympian Zeus, whom Pheidias wrought in ivory and gold, we are at once led backwards in this way to think of an earlier Zeus who was not ideal at all, but a real part of the world in which his worshippers had their dwelling. Pheidias for his conception did not trust altogether to his own imagination, nor to that of the age in which he lived. In doubt, so Strabo tells us, what was the truest and noblest representation of the King of Heaven, his thoughts were turned by inspiration to that passage in Homer where Zeus is described inclining his head in answer to the prayer of Thetis, while Heaven trembles at the sign :

> Ἦ, *καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσι Κρονίων*
> *Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος*
> *Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο. μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.*

Whether Pheidias or whether Homer even knew it or not, in the picture of the nodding or frowning Zeus, making the heavens tremble at his nod, while the hair falls down over his shoulders, there is an image of the sky itself at the moment of the thunder. The hair of the god is nothing else than the clouds which rush together, and as they meet there comes the clap which shakes the earth and heaven.

So, too, do the locks of Apollo bespeak his natural origin. These, which are in the early statues always carefully, and in the later ones abundantly, arranged, are the rays of the sun. For Apollo is in

the beginning a sun-god. And thus we see that these two divinities, whose influence is the deepest upon the religion of historic Greece, are likewise those who bear about them the strongest aroma of their earlier simpler state; of the time when they were not magnified men (natural or non-natural), but in very truth the phenomena which afterwards they only vaguely symbolized; when Zeus was himself the sky, and Apollo the sun.

We must not, if we would understand the nature of polytheism, fancy that it sprang from the imagination of a number of divine beings set to rule over the various powers of nature, a sort of cabinet council of Olympus, having each one his department, this of the wind, that of the sea, a third of the sun. If the gods had been fashioned in such a way, there would have been nothing to give them their individual characters; nothing at any rate more solid than the flights of fancy. But no accepted creed —I think it will be found so—was ever built upon so airy a basis as mere fancy; but has always laid its foundation, in one way or another, upon experience. The objects of worship in primitive days are not beings in the likeness of men; they are not the rulers over the sunshine and the storm, they are the sunshine and the storm themselves. The first gods are these very phenomena. The sea-god—or let us rather say the god-sea, remembering how Homer keeps up the very same idea in such an expression as *ἀιθήρ διή*, the divine air—the divine sea or air must be like themselves, changing, gentle, or violent, as the sea and air are. And so Zeus and Apollo, to whatever height of power they at last attained, and

to whatever perfection their characters grew, could never have so developed, unless the elemental phenomena out of which they came had had in them the possibility of such growth and attainment.

Now of Zeus the parentage and origin are well known. He is akin to the Vedic Dyâus, the Latin Jupiter (Dyâus-pitar, father Dyâus), the Zio or Tyr of the Teutons. It often happens that the etymology of a word which has been lost from the other Indo-European languages has been preserved in the Sanskrit. This is the case with Dyâus. The other names, Zeus and the rest, exist only as proper names; but Dyâus has beside a physical interpretation, and signifies the sky, or the bright upper air, which the Greeks called *æthêr*. The names of this deity of heaven are more widely spread among the Indo-European nations than those of any other divinity. We may feel sure, therefore, that just before the separation of the old Aryan stock he was its chief god. He remained the chief god of the Greeks and Romans.

Originally, then, Zeus was the clear heaven, the home of the sun. Dyâus is connected with a root *div*, which means to shine. The name has no hint of clouds or of rain. It is as distinct from any such idea as with the Greeks *αἰθήρ* was different from the cloudy *ἄηρ* which stood near the earth. It is strange, therefore, to find that in later forms Dyâus becomes a god of rain and thunder; yet such certainly is the case. The mere connection of the words in such a phrase as *Jupiter pluvius* would be impossible if Jupiter had kept the meaning of brightness which belonged to Dyâus-pitar. It will need no lengthened

proof to show that Zeus too is a god of rain far more than of the clear air: but we shall return to the proofs of this hereafter.

Dyâus, it has been said, was apparently the chief divinity of the old Aryan stock before the dispersion of the nations. But with most of them he soon ceased to be so. In the Vedas the god is mentioned many times, but generally slightingly; he is rarely invoked and scarcely ever alone; his chief merit in truth seems to be that he was the father of Indra. That indeed is a claim to distinction, for Indra is by far the greatest in all the Indian pantheon; and so one hymn in the Vedas compliments Dyâus (as it were) upon the noble deed he did in bringing Indra into the world—

> Thy father Dyâus did the best of things,
> When he became thy father, Indra[3]—

not remembering, doubtless, how that the son was in truth a usurper and had dispossessed his father from his throne, who might have exclaimed "before Indra was I am." Now though the elder divinity is by name most nearly allied to Zeus and Jupiter, Indra approaches them most in character. He is the god of rain, the governor of all the atmospheric changes, the sender of lightning, the divider of the cloud. It is this god who has superseded the one who represented the cloudless sky. With another nation from the same stock, the Teutons namely, their Dyâus, who was called Tyr or Zio, fell as the Indian god did to a secondary place; he gave way to Odhinn or Wuotan. In the trilogy

[3] "R.V.," IV, 17, 3.

of German gods enumerated by Tacitus, and called by him Mercury, Hercules and Mars,[4] we easily recognise Odhinn, Thorr,[5] and Tyr; and of these, the historian says, they chiefly worship Mercury. Here Tyr stands among the first three, but behind Odhinn and Thorr. Adam of Bremen, however, describing the greatest temple of Sweden, mentions as the three deities there worshipped, Odhinn, Thorr, and Freyr; Tyr we see is left out and Freyr, a god of spring, put in his stead. In another instance, too, Tyr gives place to Freyr,[6] so that he was after a while far from holding a position of commanding importance.

Odhinn is the god of the wind, of the rushing storm-blast chiefly, and when we remember what a wild and solitary life the Teuton led, beside pitiless northern seas or in a hard uncultivable land, we cannot wonder that this wind-god should leave a deep impress upon his fancy.[7] The wild spirit of those lonely lands was Odhinn, whom they heard and felt rushing through the forest, bending the tree tops or lashing the waves. His, too, was the inner breath which taught the women prophecy and stirred in the hearts of the men the battle-fury for

[4] Germania, c. 9.

[5] Or Donar. One should of course rather use the German names Wuotan, Donar, Zio, for these gods described by Tacitus; the relationship of the Norse divinities being somewhat different from that of the German ones.

[6] Namely, in the fight at Ragnarök. The three great combats are between Odhinn and Fenrir, Freyr and Surtur, and Thorr and Jörmungandr. See Völuspa, 53, 55.

[7] Tacitus specially notices the love the Germans had of a solitary life. *Nec pati inter se junctas sedes; colunt discreti ac diversi*" (Germ. c. 16), and describes the land they inhabited, "*aut sylvis horrida aut paludibus fœda*" (c. 5).

which they had a special name, *berserksganrg*, the berserks-way.

We have, then, in the case of all these nations of the Indo-Europeans, not excepting the Greeks and Italians, a change passing over the belief and taking the same direction in each instance. Always the more active god is preferred above a more passive one. Yet so much of a compromise is made with the former faith that the new ruler is nearly related to the deposed one: instead of a god of the sky we have a divinity of the wind, a mover of clouds, a sender of rain. In no case do we pass to quite a new part of the phenomenal world; and because of this connection in nature the relationship of god to god can always be expressed mythologically by a kinship of father and son—Dyâus being the father of Indra, and Kronos, who in many ways represents the character of Dyâus, being the father of Zeus.

If we succeed in realizing the condition of that purely natural religion when the deity is by name identified with a sensuous object, sea or sky, or whatever it may be, we can understand that to become so deified the phenomenon must be constantly present to the senses, or, if not so, that it must at least occur so often and so regularly that the idea of its existence is firmly impressed upon men's thoughts. The sun is not always visible, but he rises and sets with the most perfect regularity, and in fine climates his face is rarely hidden by day. The sun, therefore, is fitted to stand among the greatest of the gods; yet even the sun is rarely a supreme god, often he falls very far short of being so: and that he does this is owing solely to the fact of his disappearance

at night. The sky, however, is always seen, by day and by night as well. There is nothing, therefore, more fit to be a supreme deity than the sky; and it will remain a supreme God so long as man needs to associate the impression of some outward thing with his idea of worship. When, however, belief has left this phase, and the idea of personality creeps in, there is no longer a need for the constant presence of a god. Formerly, when the god and sky were one, had the second disappeared for long the god would have seemed to cease to exist. But when the divinity is not quite identified with the phenomenon, when the notion of his being an abstract existence has in any degree been realized, this being can be thought of without the aid of visible appearance; he may be sitting apart, he may peradventure be sleeping or upon a journey; and the personality becomes more impressive if his deeds are somewhat irregular and arbitrary. In climates such as those of India or of Greece, unlike ours, the heaven is most often seen in its garment of unblemished blue. Nothing can certainly be more divine and impressive than such a sight. But there is withal something monotonous about it. This god has not his changing fits, his passion and his kindness. He is too serene to be very ardently loved or feared; for such an eternal calm can have small sympathy with the short and troubled life of man. Indra is a different person. He, as the storm-god, is an occasional visitant to earth; his coming is rare but it is terrible; it is beneficial too, for the thunder sends the rain to the parched ground. In some of the Vedic hymns Indra is worshipped only when he is present and

active: he seems to be forgotten when he is not there.[8] But throughout the whole series we see the awe which he inspires when he does come; we seem to watch with the eyes of the worshipper the flash of Indra's arrows and hear the echo of his blows.

In the Vedas another god has succeeded to some of the attributes of Dyâus. This is Varuna—the embracer, as his name signifies[9]—and therefore the heaven: but chiefly perhaps the heaven of night. In Varuna's character, of the calm watching sky of night or day, we have a being naturally contrasted with Indra; and the result is that the Vedic hymns show evident traces of a rivalry between the two. In one case there is a dialogue between the two kings, each setting forth his claims to preëminence and then a few final words from the singer, who inclines to Indra because of his greater present powers. In the language which each one uses we see an echo of two different phases of belief, the worship of the calm self-contained one and the worship of the present active god.

VARUNA SPEAKS.[10]

1. I am the king, to me belongeth rule,
   I, the life-giver of the heavenly host;
   The gods obey the bidding of Varuna,
   I am the refuge of the human kind.

. . . . . .

[8] De Gubernatis, "Letture sopra la Mitologia Vedica," p. 28.

[9] Or perhaps more truly the *coverer*, from root *var* (to cover, enclose, keep). Cf. Skr. varana, Zend, varena, *covering*. This is very suitable for the night sky, and like that image of Lady Macbeth's,

"Nor Heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry 'Hold, hold!'"

[10] "R.V." IV, 42.

3. I am, oh Indra, Varuna, and mine are
The deep wide pair of worlds, the earth and heaven;
Like a wise artist, made I all things living,
The heaven and the earth, I them sustain.

. . . . . .

INDRA SPEAKS.

6. On me do call all men, the rich in horses,
Who through the hurry of the battle go,
I sow the dreadful slaughter there; I, Indra,
In my great might stir up the dust of combat.

7. This have I done; the might of all the immortals
Restraineth never me, nor shall restrain.

. . . . . .

THE POET SPEAKS.

8. That this thou dost, know all men among mortals;
This to Varuna makest thou known, oh ruler,
Indra, in thee, we praise the demon slayer,
Through whom the pent up streams are free to flow.

The singer inclines to the side of Indra, because he is this active warlike divinity, and because whatever Varuna may have done in times past 'tis *he* now who fights the powers of darkness and unlocks the fountains of rain. And for like reasons here and in other creeds the sky-god gives place to a god of storms.

Yet the unmoved all-embracing heaven better realizes some notions of a godhead than do the other arbitrary powers. If a people change from one to another, their religion will lose something of its moral tone; unless indeed the two gods be amalgamated, and the character of the Dyâus be transferred to the Indra in addition to his own characteristics.

At what point in the history of Greek and Latin religions did the preference for a god like Indra over a god like Dyâus first manifest itself? This we cannot say. But I much doubt whether Zeus was originally the thunder-god which he afterwards became; Dyâus certainly was not; his region was above the thunder. Tyr among the Germans does not wield the bolt; and those bolts which Zeus carries are not quite the weapons with which primitive man would picture the god dealing his strokes. Far more natural is the conception of the German Thorr striking about him with a hammer or club: Indra has the same weapon.[11] The Greek god who corresponds to Thorr, and does so indeed most closely, is Hêraklês. Probably Hephæstus too was a thunderer, for he likewise carries a hammer; and, as we know, he forges the bolts of Zeus. Zeus, thus taking on himself the attributes which had belonged to lesser divinities, continues for a time to grow more—how shall I say it?—more personal and petty in his activity, to become less the ruler and more the fighter than he should be.

It is surely needless to collect the many passages in which Zeus is displayed as essentially a god of the tempest, just as Indra is. The Greeks, for all the beauties of their sky and air, had many opportunities for watching the storm, for their land is varied in its character, subject to sudden atmospheric changes, nursed on the bosoms of the two seas over which it looks. Nor, I think, is there anything more noticeable in Homer than the number and beauty of the similes which he has gathered from such watching. Over

[11] "R.V." I, 83.

these appearances in heaven Zeus has as close and special a control as Poseidôn over the waves. He is not the thunderer only but he is the cloud-collector (*νεφεληγερέτα* : consider the force of such an address as *κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφὲς, ἀιθὲρι ναίων*—Iliad II. 412) ; he alike sends the prosperous wind to sailors, or with his blast hurries the drifting scud across the face of the sea ; sometimes he raises a storm on land like that which came from Ida to confound the Greeks ; or, again, like Jehovah, he places his bow in heaven, a sign to men ; or he makes the clouds stand steadfast and calm upon the mountain-top while the might of Boreas sleeps :

Οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
Οὔτε βιὰς Τρώων ὑπεδείδεσαν οὔτε ἰωκὰς
Ἀλλ' ἔμενον νεφέλῃσιν ἐοικότες, ἃς τε Κρονίων
Νηνεμίης ἔστησεν ἐπ' ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν
Ἀτρέμας, ὄφρ' εὐδῃσι μένος Βορέαο καὶ ἄλλων
Ζαχρηῶν ἀνέμων . . . .[12]

Such an aspect of the god is associated specially with the Pelasgic Zeus, the nearest brother to Jupiter, the god in fact of that primitive Græco-Italic stock out of which the Latins and the Hellenes sprang. As traces of the Pelasgians were to be found in almost all the lands inhabited by Hellenes, so the influence of the proto-Greek divinity survived everywhere, and passed on his attributes to the more Hellenic Zeus Olympios. But he was peculiarly the deity of the people of the West; the Olympian being the god of the Dorians, and through them of the Hellenes, the more civilised people of

[12] Iliad, V, 522. Cf. also, VII, 4 ; XI, 27 ; XII, 252 and 279 ; where Zeus sends the snow.

the East. A stormy god would naturally be more worshipped by the rude tribes of those coasts, where the wind blowing landwards from the Mediterranean rolled up great masses of clouds, which broke upon the high ridges in the centre, upon such mountains as Ithome of Messenia, or Lykæon of Arcadia: and some remains of fetichism existing among these barbarous peoples, I doubt not that the hills themselves, visible cloud-collectors as they were, were often honoured as the images of the god. On coins of Elis, we have a representation of the Olympian Zeus, which belongs far less in reality to him than to the earlier Pelasgic god, who was worshipped on this side of the Peloponnese; another representation almost exactly the same being to be seen at Ithome, and a third at Megalopolis, a place under the shadow of the greatest mountain of Arcadia, the Mount Lykæon. In each of these pictures, the god is sitting upon a hill. This Pelasgic god loved also, like Odhinn, to dwell in woods; the oak dedicated to the northern god is his tree also. Zeus has one shrine in the groves of Elis, another in the more sacred ones of Dôdôna; the wind which whispered through the oaks of Dôdôna brought his oracle. He is commonly portrayed with a crown of oak-leaves.

These Pelasgi were half-savage men; such a god of tempests, of stormy heights or wind-grieved forests answered well to their needs of worship, as a like divinity did for the barbarous Norsemen. But he could never have satisfied the religious wants of Hellas. In the person of the Greeks, as has been well said, humanity becomes for the first time

completely human; before it was half bestial, like the Satyrs of Arcadia, or the Kentaurs of Thrace, its creed unformed and unsightly like its gods still made of blocks of wood and stone.

As Greece grew to perfect manhood, the gods became softened in nature, and the Pelasgic Zeus himself merged into the god of Olympus, and changed to become the true image of a king in heaven. Yet this divinity could never have accommodated himself to the place he took in Hellenic religion had he not kept by his side, as an interpreter between himself and man, a younger god, Apollo namely, the special patron and champion of those races who came from the foot of Mount Olympus, and at last spread over the greater part of Greece, bringing new life into the Greek character.

Apollo, as we have said, is a personification of the sun. He is so, that is to say, in his origin; but before we see him he has put off the more simply physical parts of his character. These have been transferred to Hêlios. Homer would never speak of Apollo, as he does of Hêlios, being unable to see through a cloud.[13] The greater divinity is in all respects a *person*, not a *thing*, and only keeps, as his statues do, in this or that feature, a trait of his origin. This origin was, however, unquestionably the sun. There are many ways in which a sun-god must needs touch closely upon human sympathies, and assume a more human aspect than do the other nature-deities: but in two ways specially, as the travelling god who goes each day from east to west, and secondly, as the god who dies. All creeds have

[13] Iliad, XIV, 344.

their sun-god, and sometimes because of his human nature, he sinks quite low in the pantheon, and becomes little better than a hero or demi-god. The manhood of Apollo, however—and this is a very important feature in the history of his worship—never brings him down to the level of men. He is thus thoroughly in sympathy with man, and yet never on a level with him; fully human in character, completely god-like in dignity. It was through this refined and developed conception of the sun-god, that the spread of his worship wrought so powerful an effect upon the development of Hellenic belief; causing a change in it which was in no way short of a revolution.

The revolution, however, was a quiet one; like those slow changes we learn to think of as creating new worlds or new systems of planets. In the nebulous mass of the old Pelasgic society, as yet without coherence or national existence, a vortex of more eager life was set up; and this, ever widening, drew into itself the best part of the race, until a new Hellas arose to take the place of Greece.

The men among whom this wider and higher life began were the Dorians, at first a small tribe, not worthy to be called a nation, who lived in the extreme north of Greece, where Mount Olympus separates Macedon from Thrace. They were Zeus worshippers; and by their conquests and settlements they carried the cult of the Olympian Zeus over the whole land of Greece; and because they worshipped Zeus, the old chief god of the Pelasgians was never deposed from his throne.

But the Dorians were before all things the votaries of the sun-god Apollo; and with them the religion of Apollo travelled wherever they went.

The outbreak of these men of the north from the bosom of the Pelasgic world, was in some respects like the outbreak upon the Roman Empire of certain Teutonic peoples from the vast unexplored forests of Germany, and from the shores of unknown northern seas. Like the Scandinavians, from being mountaineers, these men took to the sea, and became pirates. They haunted the islands of the Archipelago, and passing onward, sometimes resting where they came, sometimes defeated and forced to retire, they got at last to Crete, and founded the first Dorian kingdom there. Under this rule—called the kingdom of Minôs—Crete obtained a hegemony or more absolute sway over the Ægean Islands and the coast of Asia Minor. Before this time, that is before the Doric kingdom in Crete had put to silence the older Doric rule in Olympus, the shrine of Apollo had been founded upon Delos. In the full tide of Cretan power, like shrines were established on the coast of Asia Minor, whereof in after years the deepest traces remained in Lycia and in the Troad. And lastly the Dorian migrations, which took place about the tenth century before our era, starting from the Doric Tetrapolis—for to this neighbourhood the Dorians of Olympus and Tempe had gradually moved—carried the Delphic worship of the god over the Peloponnese, and thence by example or more direct enforcement over both shores of the Ægean, and over all the islands which lay between.[14]

[14] Through the "calf-breeding mainland and through the isles," as the Homeric hymn to Apollo says (v. 21).

The Pelasgic Zeus, the storm-god, chose for his natural home, the windy groves or mountain summits; but Apollo's dwelling was not in such wild places; his was a house built with hands, to him were dedicated some of the earliest temples, and these placed generally upon a promontory commanding a wide view over the sea. For the thought of Apollo was naturally associated with the beauties which sunlight and calm air can bestow; as it was of those other *fashioned* beauties which are the aim of all artistic striving. The arts were his special care; architecture and sculpture, but most of all *music*, that is to say, rhythmic movement of limbs or of words with the harmony of sound accompanying such movement, such as the Greek understood in his music, and which meant for him the very sum of all culture. Apollo first gave the Greeks the need of passing beyond the shapeless images which had been sufficient representatives of the other deities. Among early sculptures the statues of Apollo are by far the most frequent; and we must, as has before been said, consider the later images of other youthful gods, of Hermês for example, or the beardless Dionysus, as no more than variations upon the original Apollo type.

The wonderful ideal type of Greek manly beauty, may thus in a manner be ascribed to the worship of this sun-god; for it were unreasonable to suppose that the perfections of Greek sculpture represented the realities of actual life; the manhood of the god being always an exalted idealized manhood, which never brings him down to the plain of mortals, as happens to some other solar divinities. Others, such

for example as the Teutonic Baldur, or Thorr, or the Greek Hêraklês seem to hover between a place as high as any in the pantheon, and one which scarcely admits them into the pantheon stall. Apollo never varies between such extremes. In other cases, the sun-god reappears in the part of a hero of folk-tales. But Apollo has cast all this behind him, one can recall scarcely anything in his history which would place him beside such heroes as Sigurd or Achilles; and where we do detect the appearance of a popular story, in some event of his life, it exists in so shadowy and unsubstantial a form as to show clearly the remoteness of the god from such human concerns. One example in point is the legend of his being carried away soon after birth, on the backs of swans, to the land of the Hyperboreans, where he remains till the expiration of a year. This has in it the germ of the common Teutonic legend of the *swan-knight*, who as a child is borne away by these birds to some distant land, some Earthly Paradise, and returns again brought back in the same fashion. The tale lives on in nursery lore in the six swans of Grimm's collection, and some other stories of a like kind.

Another folk-tale connected with the sun-hero, by far the favourite of all the series of popular lore, as it is the most touching of all, is that which tells of the hero hiding his greatness for a while in a servile state, or beneath a beggar's gaberdine, receiving the sneers and slights of his comrades in patience, because he knows that his time will come and he can afford to wait. This story, too, does not quite pass over Apollo. We see

him condemned after the slaughter of the Python to feed the horses of Admetus; at another time he serves Laomedon. But the myth has a further and a deeper meaning which we shall notice hereafter.

On the whole Apollo, though he condescends now and then to share the lot of ordinary sun-gods, is not only the greatest of all that class, he is in early Greek poetry superior in character to almost every other deity. True, in some early poetry he is slightly mentioned. Hesiod scarcely speaks of him. But in the Iliad, though Zeus is the most mighty of the Gods, Apollo is certainly the more majestic figure. There is something very suggestive in the remoteness of Apollo from the passion of partizanship which sways the other Olympians; first the terror of his coming to revenge a slight done to himself, and then his withdrawal for a long time from all part in the combat after that injury has been thoroughly atoned for. Evidently Apollo was to the Homeric poet far more reverend than Athênê even. One cannot help seeing a certain analogy in the characters and positions of the chief actors in the earthly drama, Agamemnon and Achilles and those two heavenly spectators, Zeus and Apollo.[15] Zeus is the king of gods, as Agamemnon of men, and, despite the fact that the god sides with the Trojans, there is a bond of union between these two.

Agamemnon always addresses himself first to Zeus,

[15] On the whole it must be noticed that Zeus and Apollo, unlike Athênê and Hêre, do not engage personally in the fight—Apollo does so once or twice—but use their powers as nature-gods. Zeus especially acts in this way: Apollo does so in the case of the demolition of the Achæans' wall (Bk. XII). See also the great fight of the gods in the XXth book.

even to the Zeus who rules Ida, and when the Achæans are sacrificing some to one god, some to another, his prayer is to the King of Heaven.[16] The likeness between Apollo and Achilles scarcely needs to be pointed out. Achilles is a sun-*hero* and Apollo is a sun-*god;* that is really all the difference between them. Each is the ideal youth, the representative one might fairly say of "young Greece," that which was to become in after years Hellas. Achilles is from the very primal Hellas, whence the whole country eventually took its name. Apollo and Achilles have the same sense of strength in reserve and an abstinence from participation in the battle going on around: each is provoked to do so only by some very near personal injury.

No doubt this exaltation and refinement of Apollo's character belongs to a later development of his myth; for he seems to have passed on to Hêraklês most of those adventures which would belong to him in his lower nature. Thus the Doric hero becomes a foil to the Doric god, acting the human parts while the other plays the divine parts. This is why Hêraklês sinks to be a demi-god and not an Olympian: it is not because he is less of an Aryan than the others. The Semitic elements in his nature are accidental; and this we may easily see by comparing Hêraklês with the Norse Thorr and seeing how closely they resemble one another; for Thorr could have drawn no part of his nature from the Tyrian Melkarth. Now Hêraklês often takes the place of Apollo even in those characters which are most essentially Apollo's. The sun-god, we

[16] Cf. II, 403, 412; III, 276.

have seen, is the wanderer. It was Apollo we may be sure who led the Dorians upon their expeditions in pre-historic times. Later on, to account for these expeditions, a so-called return of the Hêraklidæ is invented and placed under the special guidance of Hêraklês. But as K.O. Müller says, "everything that is related concerning the exploits of Hêraklês in the north of Greece, refers exclusively to the history of the Dorians, and conversely all the actions of the Doric race in their earlier settlements are fabulously represented in the person of Hêraklês."[17]

A still more important act of the pre-historic Apollo, which has been forgotten in the later legends of him, is the descent into Hades. This adventure is the essential feature in a sun-god's career, distinguishing him from almost all other divinities. The sun does visibly sink under the earth, and therefore the god must for a while undergo death. There are no parts of their lives in which Hêraklês and Thorr more closely resemble one another than in their going down to Hades and their doings there. Thorr has to lift a cat, as Hêraklês has to bring Cerberus from the nether world; the Scandinavian hero wrestles with death,[18] as the Greek hero does with Thanatos in Euripides' play. Apollo does not altogether escape a like destiny. For Admêtos, as Müller has shown, is in reality the same as

[17] "Dorians," Eng. Translation, p. 56.

[18] Elsewhere ("Dawn of History," p. 226), I have given reasons for believing that Thorr's journey to the house of Utgardhloki—related in the Edda of Snorro, Dæmisögur 44, 48—was nothing else than a descent into Hades, and that the old witch Elli, with whom he wrestles, was originally none other than Hel, the daughter of Loki and Queen of the Dead.

Hades, in fact a by-name of that god. Apollo, we know, has to serve in the stables of Admêtos when he would purify himself from the blood of the Python. No doubt but this is some relic of an earlier myth, which gave to the great battle between Apollo and the Serpent a different ending from that now known us, making the god worsted and not victorious in his fight with the powers of darkness. Another indication of a descent to hell is found in the share which Apollo takes in the restoration of Alkestis.

It is here that the likeness between the Greek god and the Christian Saviour which has been insisted on by many writers reaches its culminating point. If the former did go down into the lower world we may be sure he rose again ; and so evidently is this the case that the myth of Alkestis shows us a parallel to the famous Harrowing of Hell, when Christ, after his descent there, brought up the patriarchs to heaven. This story is not found in revelation, but it was a part of popular mythology in the middle ages ; it was a favourite subject for art, and it has been made illustrious by the most splendid poetry :—

Io era nuovo in questo loco,
Quando ci vidi venire un Possente,
Con segno di vittoria incorronato ;
Trassaci l'ombra del Primo Parente,
D'Abel suo figlio, e quella di Noè,
Di Moisè legista, e ubbidiente
Abraam Patrarca, e David Ré,
Israel con suo padre, co' sui nati,
E con Rachele per cui tanto fe'
Ed altri molti ; e fecegli beati.

This particular act of Christ is of course mythical, it finds no place in orthodox teaching, though, it was such a favourite with the Christian world. And in the same way, if we could carry further our comparison between the phases of the worship of Zeus and Apollo, which we have been following, and the worship of Christ and God the Father in the middle ages—the popular worship, that is, as illustrated by the popular art of the time—we should find numerous and remarkable points of similarity. We should find numerous points of unlikeness too, which would be not the less remarkable and instructive. And this comparison would be in no sense strained or arbitrary, because the same influences are at work in either case; the formation of the creed obeys in either case the same wants of human nature. But we can only glance at such a comparison here.

M. Didron, in his interesting work on Christian iconography, gives us a sketch of the relative positions in art occupied by the two first persons of the Trinity, whence we can gather their positions in popular belief, of which that art is the mouthpiece. We find that at first God the Father never appears; His presence is indicated by a hand or by some other symbol, He has no visible place in the picture; and when at last He takes a bodily shape, His form is borrowed from that of His son. It is Christ who, in the monuments of the fourth to the tenth centuries, is generally portrayed performing those works which in the Old Testament are ascribed to Jehovah; Christ makes the world, the sun and moon, and raises Eve out of the side of Adam. After the tenth century the type of Christ is a young man some thirty years of age; and then the Father begins to be

seen, fashioned in nearly the same manner, no older and no younger than His son. This shows us that, during the early ages of Christianity, Christ had quite excluded the Father from the thoughts of most men; and I think we have only to read the literature of this time—the profane literature especially, the histories or memoirs—to see that this was the case. The reason of this was that Christ was the active divinity, the history of His life and death, His labours and sufferings, was constantly before the popular mind. He absorbed all characters of the Trinity into His individual person.

This was like the change of belief which gave us Indra or Zeus instead of Dyâus or Kronos; but it was not enacted to the same extent in the case of Zeus and Apollo. This fact is attributable to the universal character of Zeus worship, and to the more narrow domain of Apollo worship. The former was a god of all Greece; the latter a god of the Dorians only. If these last had worked out their history by themselves, the changes of their religious opinions might have shown a much closer analogy to that of the Christian opinions. For the Doric Zeus was an abstract and inactive god; and he alone never would have received, never did receive, great religious honours. "The supreme deity, when connected with Apollo, was neither born nor visible on earth, and was perhaps never considered as having any immediate influence on men." This is what Müller says of the Dorian Zeus and Apollo;[19] and the description would apply almost exactly to the relationship of God the Father and Christ in the early Christian belief.

[19] "Dorians," Eng. Translation.

As this Doric religion met with the Pelasgic creed, and the active and passive Zeus had to be rolled into one, and the Apollo to conquer a place for himself in the belief of all Hellas, there was at first, I doubt not, some conflict between the rival systems; much like that conflict between the earthly Agamemnon and Achilles. Sometimes Apollo appears higher and sometimes lower than Zeus. In Homer's picture the father is far more susceptible of human passion, far less self-contained and self-reliant, than his son: but then on the other hand Hesiod, writing in the mainland of Greece a century or two later, neglects Apollo almost completely. So that the view which Homer presents may have been exclusively an Ionic one. And I think we can see that very late, as far down for instance as the time of Æschylus, two very different pictures might be presented to the popular mind, the one that of the usurping god of the Prometheus, the other the Zeus to whom the suppliants pray.

We can then trace the history of these two deities of Hellas through a series of changes corresponding to certain definite phases of religious growth. The first appearance of Zeus upon the scene—the Greek Zeus I mean, as distinguished from the Indian Dyâus—is indicative of the dawn of the anthropomorphic spirit; when the phenomenon which moves and acts obliterates that which is constant. As yet there is no question of an ideal man, no desire for ethic or for any moral law; all that is needed is that the god should have that one human quality of will and power; and this the Pelasgic god essentially possesses.[20] Then comes in the rise of morality; the gods have

not only become men, but they have become ideal men; and in this change Apollo is the conspicuous figure. The statues of Apollo express the very perfecting of an anthropomorphic creed. But after a while this in its turn fails to satisfy the needs of men, for they require their divinity to be something more than human, more even than ideal human nature; he must be an abstract being, an idea which could find no embodiment in any visible form. And with this wish arose again the old supreme god of the whole Greek race to give a name to the abstraction. The Zeus whom Æschylus' suppliants invoke is neither the Zeus of the East nor of the West, of grove nor temple, he is not the god of Olympus any more than of Dôdôna, he is merely *the* God, the King of Kings, like the Hebrews' Jehovah.

"King of Kings, happiest of the happy, and of the perfect, perfect in might, blest Zeus."

And we know how the very priests of Dôdôna called upon him in the same strain:

Ζὲυς ἦν, Ζὲυς ἔστι, Ζὲυς ἔσσεται ὦ μεγάλε Ζῆυ, "Oh mighty Zeus, which was and is and is to be."

BRITISH MUSEUM. C. F. KEARY.

[20] At first the god who represents merely the power of will, without its responsibilities, is morally a bad substitute for those early will-less *things*, the deified phenomena of nature; just as a child is a better thing to contemplate than a young man under the sway of his passions in their intensity. And so in the *Prometheus Vinctus* we have a beautiful picture of the nature-god, Ocean, and the river-mists (which are the nymphs) coming to sympathise with the Titan in his sufferings. And as against Zeus (the usurper), Prometheus appeals to all the divinities, which are purely the expression of outward things, the swift-winged breezes, the deep, uncounted, laughing waves, the all-seeing eye of the sun, and earth, the mother of all.

A THEORY OF THE CHIEF HUMAN RACES OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

BY J. W. REDHOUSE, HON. MEMB. R.S.L.

(Read March 26th, 1880.)

A CONSIDERATION of the map and geology of the Old World, of Europe, Asia, and Africa, assisted by such fragmentary traditions of upheavals or subsidences as have been more or less corruptly preserved and handed down to us, makes it appear not improbable that this portion of the earth's surface must, at some prehistorical date, have consisted in several widely separated continents or archipelagos, each of which had already undergone divers previous changes, by upheavals, volcanic eruptions, degradations, and denudations, alternating with dislocations and partial or total submergences, from whence had arisen various local legends of universal deluges.

Each one of those continents or archipelagos was tenanted with a flora and fauna entirely or partially peculiar to itself; just as were America, Australia, and New Zealand, when latterly discovered by European explorers. Each was also, apparently, inhabited by its own special, more or less sharply differentiated, race or races of men. How these had originated we need not here inquire. There is less difficulty, perhaps, on the whole, in a polygenetic, than in a monogenetic view of the question.

That prehistorical date was a period of gradual upheaval for most, if not all, the area in view; and also, for a probable polar continent or archipelago, continuous at one time, to some extent, with the northern shores of America. Of this hypothetical polar continent or archipelago, Greenland, Iceland, Spitzbergen, with Nova-Zemlya, &c., are the remains, left by subsidences that have occurred since the epoch of which we have spoken.

At that period of the world's history, as fossils show, a tropical climate reigned over the whole of north Europe and Asia; perhaps, over the ideal lost continent or archipelago also. This latter could, therefore, be peopled, like the other lands, with a race or races of men, a fauna, and a flora, although its supposed remains have since been rediscovered, uninhabited and desert, under a glacial temperature.

Western Europe, probably united to north-western Africa, appears to have been one continent or archipelago; central Africa and Ethiopia, perhaps with Arabia, another; north India to Thrace, perhaps to Ireland, on the one hand, and to western Tatary, to Transoxiana, to Pamir, on the other, a third; south India, a fourth; China, with Indo-China, a fifth; and Turania, a sixth. These expressions must be accepted in an elastic sense. We have no means to distinguish the comparative dates of all the geological changes that have since affected them.

Europe was then inhabited by an Iberian race or races of men, now represented, perhaps, by the Basques; north Africa, by the Berber, the old Getulian race or races; central Africa by the Semitic races and others not here taken into account; Arabia,

and perhaps Egypt, by an old pre-Semitic, pre-Turanian race or races, some of whom were troglodytes; north India, to Thrace and western Tatary, Transoxiana, by various lost or nearly lost races; south India, by the primitive Dravidian; and Indo-China, by various Chinese races. The Aryan races, some dark, others fair, were then, possibly, as we here suppose, the tenants of various parts of the supposed polar continent or archipelago. Apparently, no one human race, of the whole family then on earth, had as yet discovered the use of iron and steel, copper and brass. Their tools, weapons, and utensils were of wood, stone, bone, shell, or pottery, with perhaps gold, where found native.

The exact sequence of human and of geological events in that old prehistoric period, will probably never be satisfactorily made out. Some of the suggestions here offered for consideration will certainly call for re-arrangement as knowledge of details increases; and others will have to be differently explained, or altogether abandoned as groundless. Early attempts of this nature cannot hope to prove correct at all points; and allowances will kindly be made for flaws by considerate minds, should one only of the suppositions now put forward be hereafter fully substantiated.

When the sudden or gradual upheaval of land between two or more of these hypothetical continents or archipelagos had sufficiently paved the way, there would appear to have occurred a great invasion of the Chinese races towards the west, with nearly total annihilation of the older inhabitants, details of which are entirely wanting, but to which the jade

weapons and implements found in various parts of Europe are the mute witnesses. They were possibly the builders of all the extant cyclopean masonry.

Whoever has seen a Chinaman or a Japanese of the present day, and has examined, or will examine, the pair of terra-cotta figures taken from an Etruscan tomb and now preserved in the British Museum, can hardly doubt that these are the effigies of a man and woman of some Chinese race buried in Etruria. In other words, the Etruscans were a people of a Chinese stock inhabiting a part of Italy as their last home, until absorbed by the Turanian or Aryan Romans or Latins, or annihilated by the later destroyers of these.

The Samoyeds of north-western Russia in Asia are said to present the same features. Was, then, the whole of Asia and of eastern Europe, as configurated at that time, peopled by the Chinese races alone, as autochthones or as conquerors, the whole being one sole continent or archipelago; and were the Etruscans of early Roman times, are the present Samoyeds, outlying remanets of those races, saved, as by miracle, from geological and political catastrophes, as settlers from the first, or as subsequent in-wanderers, the former in central Italy, and the latter in northern Russia?

It is an undoubted and a most melancholy fact in the history of the world, that whenever a more potent alien race of mankind invades a country in sufficient numbers, the conquered race is generally doomed to ultimate extinction, unless some remnant of them can find a retreat so poor, so distant, or so difficult of access, that it is not worth the invaders' while to

push their advantage to extremity. Destruction of others is the prime law of organic existence.

Turania and prehistoric Arya appear to have been out of the reach of that Chinese occupation; so also were the Iberian and Berberian continent or archipelago.

A time came when Turania found a passage to the southern and western lands. Its races gradually occupied these, almost or quite, at last, to the destruction, as usual, of all former races, except in the Chinese continent or archipelago proper, in Etruria, and in the home of the Samoyeds. Iberia and Berberia appear also to have been beyond their reach, as well as primitive Arya.

Those old-world Turanians have left their mark far and wide. They peopled all the north of Europe and Asia, as then constituted. The lake-dwellings of Switzerland would appear to have been, some of them, their homes. The Laplanders and Finlanders of our day are their relics in northern Europe. Siberia is almost exclusively tenanted by their descendants. They, or even their Chinese predecessors, much denationalized, perhaps, were the first who built cities, cultivated astronomy, and used the cuneiform writing in the Tigris and Euphrates valley, before the Semitic races intruded there. It is a moot question whether even south India was not entirely or largely occupied by their tribes, more or less mixed with Chinese races, up to the time when the Aryans dispossessed them in the north. That is, the Dravidian races may have been offsets of those primitive Turanians or Turano-Chinese. Some of the more easterly of those old Turanian tribes may have

been the first workers in iron and steel; or they may have been early pupils of the Chinese in working those metals, as also copper and brass.

During some portion of that period, at any rate, the north polar ocean communicated, by the White Sea, with the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the sea of Aral; but the Bosphorus and Hellespont were not yet opened. The British Channel, the Irish Channel, and the North Sea, were dry land; England and Ireland being inhabited by peoples of the Turanian races, equally with central Europe, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, India, and Siberia as far west as the Ural range.

A period supervened when Arabia became separated from Africa by the Red Sea, and joined to Asia. The Turanian or Chinese races penetrated there, and thoroughly occupied it. Later, the Persian Gulf was formed, uniting with the Red Sea and Eastern Mediterranean north of Arabia and north of the Sinaitic Peninsula, then an Island. It further communicated with a Western Mediterranean, the bed of which is now the Sahrā, south of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, that is, south of the Atlas range. The Strait of Gibraltar was not yet opened. The Po flowed down the present Adriatic. The Thracian races of Turanians could thus stretch unimpeded to the Atlantic shore of Ireland.

Arabia having thus become an island, the Semitic races from the south or west, found an opportunity of invading it. Ultimately, they entirely annihilated its previous Turanian inhabitants. These were, may be, the real races from whose primitive existence the traditions of ʻĀd and Thamūd have descended, being

preserved from oblivion through their wonderful cyclopean buildings and wells. Some of them were, probably, the troglodytes already alluded to, the men of Thamūd of later legends.

The Canaanites of Syria were, perhaps, of the same races of Turanians. A portion of the Northern Egyptians may also have belonged to them, driven from their older homes when the Persian Gulf was first formed by some sudden subsidence that gave rise to the Mesopotamian legends respecting a universal deluge, afterwards adopted, with modifications, by the Semitic races, and notably by Moses.

Abyssinia may at that period have been an Island or Continent separated from Arabia when the Red Sea was formed. There, in fact, would appear to have been the cradle of the Semitic races, the bulk of whom, pressed upon, perhaps, by black races from the south and west when the island became joined on to the continent of Africa, passed over into Arabia by degrees.

In process of time Arabia became again united to the south of Mesopotamia. The Semitic races, continually reinforced from Africa, advanced upon the Turanians of the Tigris and Euphrates, who were now being attacked in rear also by a new enemy. In consequence of this remote assistance, of which they themselves were perhaps unaware, the Semitic races ultimately achieved an entire predominance in Mesopotamia, pushing on as conquerors all over Persia, and to an unknown extent in Transoxiana, even to China.

The new enemy that thus assailed the rear of the Turanians in central Asia, while the Semitic races

were attacking them from the south-west, were none other than the Eastern Aryans, now beginning, for the first time, to make their power seriously felt so far to the south.

We have supposed the Aryan races to have originally inhabited the now submerged north polar continent or archipelago. Its tropical climate, as that of all the north of Asia and Europe, of whatever form these may then have partaken, was at length brought to a close, and was succeeded by a glacial period, when nearly the whole of Europe, and a great part of Asia, were buried for ages under snow and ice. Flora and fauna, nearly all was gradually destroyed; the fittest, as usual, alone escaping.

But great upheavals of land must have taken place, also, as this cold period was setting in. A passage or passages thus originated, by which the Aryans, pinched out of their primeval home by the yearly intensifying cold and famine, could effect, in boats, by fording, or by land, an invasion of more southern lands, equally suffering, in their inhabitants, from the same causes. Ultimately, the whole of the Aryan races that had escaped from death by cold or hunger, found themselves in possession of the north-western seaboard of Asia, the northern promontory of the Ural range. They were probably a mere remnant. They may have found the coast deserted; they may have been hospitably received as guests, refugees, labourers, by the Turanians established there before them; or they may have had to fight their way from the first.

An internecine war, as usual upon earth, most

likely eventuated between the two races, the older Turanian and the intrusive Aryan. Both would still be armed with weapons of wood, stone, bone, shell, or pottery. The increasing cold and famine must have continually diminished their numbers, until both races were well-nigh exterminated, and the whole land was an icy waste.

During this extremity of suffering, the balance of endurance, on the whole, told in favour of the Aryan races. They may have possessed and lost many a germ of civilization under the hard conditions of the period; but, that they did not lose all traces of husbandry is substantially proved by the presence of the word "yoke," in an almost unaltered form, and with one identical signification, in every ancient and modern Aryan tongue, in Asia and in Europe. Their language was one, or nearly one; here they commenced their migrations towards the south and towards the west; but the dark and the fair branches of their race or races were both preserved, both represented in the remnant that now possessed the northern portions of the Ural range, or the lower lands between it and that Northern Mediterranean that then covered nearly or quite the whole of Modern Russia in Europe, uniting, as already observed, the White Sea, the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the Aral.

They now gradually pushed out branches further and further south. The cold, after ages, had perhaps begun slowly to decrease, and population to develop. The earliest arrival, from their insignificant host, in a country where their history, legendary at first, has remained more or less consecutive ever since, was

the nucleus whence the Armenian people have originated.

The few primary Armenian families, which later national, perhaps Christian, legends make to be the immediate descendants of Noah, and their language his language, settled in Southern Georgia, at the foot of *their* Mount Ararat. They had probably reached that country in boats from the north-east, as newly-forming islands, or the ice, enabled them to cross the sea towards the west and the south. They may have been the survivors of a local deluge; though modern geography avails us very little to understand how this may have come about. It may have been when the Caucasus was upheaved, and the Caspian at length separated from the Black Sea. That grand convulsion, again, may have synchronized in its main features with the catastrophe that rent open the Bosphorus and Hellespont, producing the local deluge of Deucalion of the Greeks. The Adriatic may have then become a sea also, separating Magna Græcia from the Pelasgian main. The Greeks were as yet unheard of.

The Armenians, though they have, as Christians, adopted the Mosaic account of the Deluge and of the repeopling of the earth, to a certain extent, refuse to accept the Semitic locality of the spot where the ship, the ark, rested, from whence Noah and his family descended to renew the human race. According to the Mesopotamian, that is, the Turanian account of that event, more or less altered by subsequent Semitic modifications, the outcome, perhaps, of ever-weakening reminiscences of their own, of catastrophes really connected with Arabia or Africa,

Noah's ark landed on a peak of Taurus, known as Mount Jūdī, which lies a little to the north of Mawsil (Mosul), near the town of Bezabde, the modern Jazīra, standing in the Tigris, on an island. The Armenians, however, will have that event to have occurred on the mountain at the foot of which their own family was certainly first established when they had set their foot in Georgian Armenia. This mountain of the Armenians is to the north of the town of Bayezid, and forms the apex where the Russian, Ottoman, and Persian frontiers meet in a point. The Armenians did not and do not call that mountain "Ararat." This latter is the Mosaic name. All Syrian and Mesopotamian Christians apply it to the Semitic and Muslim Jūdī of Bezabde. The Armenians call their Georgian mountain "Mese-zusar," said to mean *Mountain of the Ship*; or, as Tavernier renders it—"*Montagne de l'Arche.*" The Greek, *i.e.*, the eastern Roman Church, after the conversion of the Armenians, adopted their "Mese-zusar" as the "Ararat" of Moses. It was in their own territory; whereas "Jūdī" was in the hands of the Meso-Persians. Papal Rome followed that lead, knowing no other; and Europe, even Protestant Europe, has ratified or acquiesced. But the Semites will not give up their "Jūdī" as the true place where Noah's ark rested.

The Armenians, then, established themselves, the first of Aryan races, in (comparatively) Middle Asia at a very remote period; possibly, when the glacial period of geology was passing away. They consider themselves, they may almost be considered by others, autochthones in their country. But the Kurds,

probably Turanians, are also there to dispute that point with them; and have been, from the very earliest historic times.

The Pelasgic races of the Aryan family, possibly as old in southern irruption as the Armenians, or nearly so, must have come from the north, westward of the Black Sea, by land, through Hungary, into Western Greece and Macedonia. They occupied the islands of the Archipelago, then part of the one Europo-Asian continent; spread into a portion of Western Asia; even into Philistia by sea; into South Italy, Magna Græcia, then separated from Greece merely by the estuary of the far-reaching Adriatic Po; into Sicily, and into part of North Africa. They were unable to displace or destroy the Thracians of Europe and of Asia Minor, a Turanian race or set of races, whose very name appears but a variant form of that of Turk. That other Turanians were preserved for a long time in Italy, about Rome, among their later-come Latin neighbours, the myth of the Trojan, Teucrian, Thracian, *i.e.*, Turkish Æneas, and of his reception by them as their King, as the ancestor of the Latin Romans, demonstrates almost to evidence. They, as the Etruscans, disappeared afterwards between the Latins and the Pelasgians of Magna Græcia.

Like the Armenians, the Pelasgians must have crossed the northern, the Russian Mediterranean, but further to the north than the former, when that sea became more and more studded with islands, joined in winter by the ice.

Much later came the Greeks, an intrusive race or races of Aryans upon Aryans. They probably

reached Greece by sea, coming in small bodies, as pirates and robbers, like the Northmen in later times, further west. They could descend the now formed or forming Russian rivers, the Don, Dnieper, Bug, and Dniester, as the Cossacks have so often done since. They would coast the shores of Thrace on the one hand, of Asia Minor on the other, leaving colonies where practicable, passing through the recently opened Bosphorus and Hellespont, and gradually taking root on the coasts and in the islands—as they were now—of the country afterwards known by their name; or rather, by one of the many names borne by their various plundering hordes.

They were a gallant and an intellectual race, or congeries of races. They borrowed the arts and sciences from their neighbours all round, and carried them to a very high pitch; never exceeded, if indeed ever equalled, in sculpture. But they were too few, too scattered, too fickle, too jealous, and too cruel, to found any really permanent State. Nearly always waring with one another, they ultimately fell under the Pelasgian Philip of Macedon, whose son Alexander, attaching the best of them to himself by the magnet of his hitherto unmatched, warlike, and organising genius, carried by means of their language, not so much his own, as their name and fame through western Asia, to its very centre, and to the shores of the Indian Ocean.

They became irretrievably scattered by this effort, and by a century of succeeding wars, to which their originally small numbers had made them a foredoomed prey. In little more than a century and a

half from the death of Alexander, all his conquests that were not reoccupied by Asiatics, Aryans or Turanians, were swallowed up by Rome. The very names of Greek and Greece disappeared from history; those of Rome and Roman took their place. These latter alone are known in Asia to this day. Even Alexander is there always mentioned as "Alexander the Roman." The Ottoman Empire is designated by all the rest of the East at this present time as the Roman Empire; an Ottoman Turk is there called a Roman; and the Ottoman Turkish language is styled by the modern Persians, eastern Turks, and Indians, the Roman language.

After the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, and the transference of the seat of empire to New Rome, Constantinople, the Grecian language, already bastardized by the influx of a hundred different races into the capital and provinces, acquired a new importance as the language of the Eastern Church. But as massacres were constant and fresh hordes from all quarters were constantly pouring in, the language of the church books soon became unintelligible to the masses, who all styled themselves Romans, and the result was the modern jargon called by those mixed natives themselves the Roman language, the *Romaic*, but which has been fondly styled Greek by the rest of Europe.

While the Armenians first, next the Pelasgians, then the Greeks, and after them the Celts, still further north and west, with the Latins between, were thus planting the prolific Aryan races on two portions of comparatively southern lands in Western Asia and in Eastern and Central Europe, a great

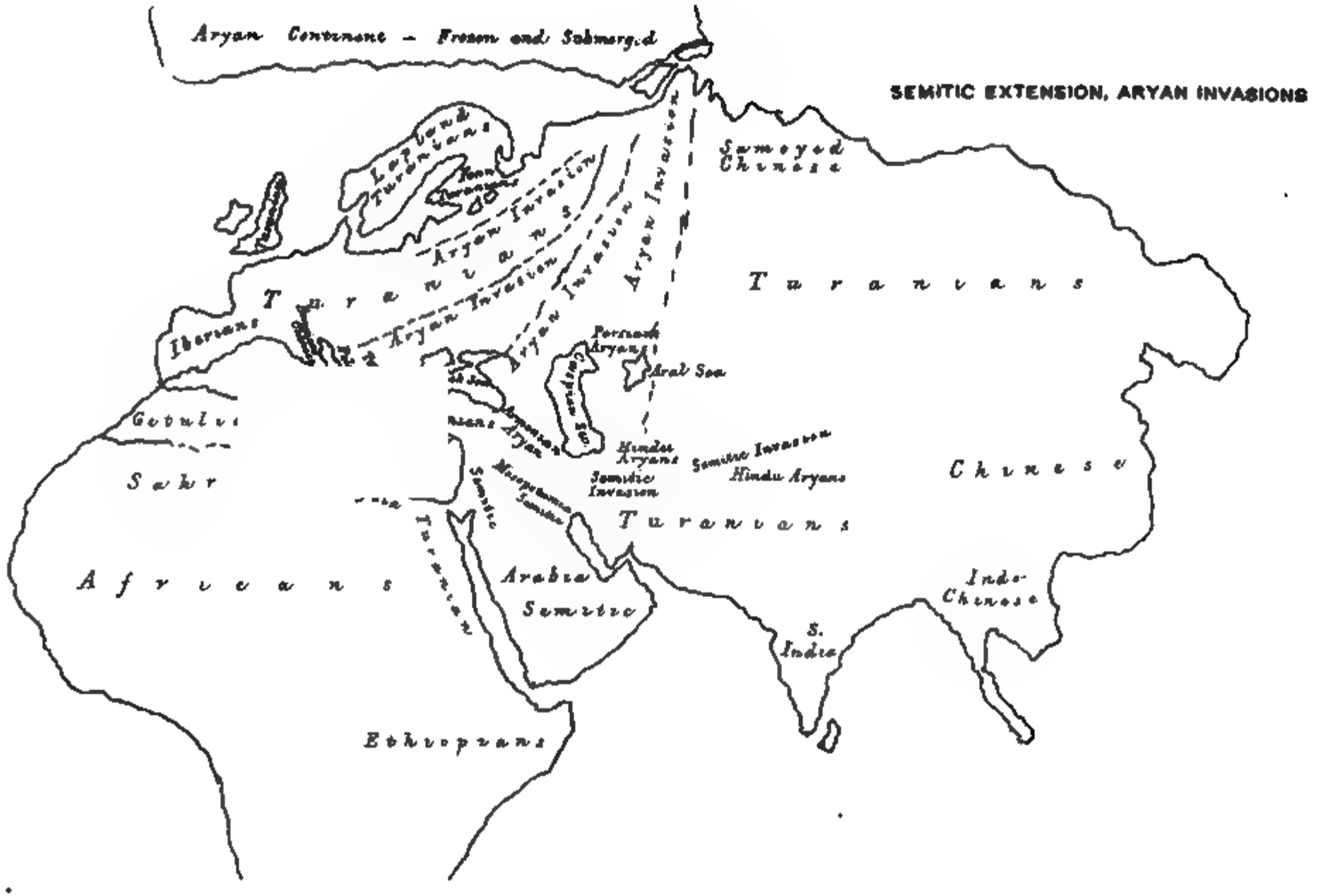
branch of those races, pressed by the same causes, cold, famine, redundant population, and perhaps by ambition and love of adventure, as is still the case to-day in the same locality, was forcing itself, as soon as a road was open, along the shores of the Northern Russian Mediterranean, gradually shrinking in extent until the Aral, the Caspian, and the Black Sea were entirely separated from one another and from the Baltic and White Seas. They advanced by the eastern shore of the Aral until they met the Jaxartes, and pushed forward into and past the very centre of Asia.

It is from many considerations more probable, perhaps, that two distinct Aryan invasions took place, with a wide interval, in this direction. The first, far more ancient, perhaps before the seas were fully separated, advancing by the Jaxartes, as stated, partly displaced the Turanians of Transoxiana; and still pushing on, perhaps still pushed on, ultimately occupied all the plains of North India, to the mountains which guard the Deccan. There these Aryans totally destroyed the older Turanian inhabitants, or drove some feeble remnants of them into the more hilly fastnesses, where their descendants, after perhaps four or five thousand years, are still found. This branch of Aryans became the Sanskrit-speaking, Braminical people, whose descendants have, throughout the whole historical period, been known to the rest of the world as the Indians, the Hindūs. Their oldest hymns speak of a legendary passage of water that destroyed their pristine country, and of a subsequent marvellous increase of the numbers of their race. They knew the "yoke."

Those Aryans of India, during their gradual advance southwards during several centuries, may have learnt much. Adopting also the arts and sciences of the Turanians they extirpated in India, they improved upon the same to a much higher degree, at first, than did afterwards their Greek cousins of Europe. They never reached an equal degree of eminence in the statuary's art; but in all else they distanced for a long time every competitor. The Greeks, from the days of Pythagoras, even from the much more ancient mythical era of Bacchus, were fain to learn science, art, and civilization, with mythology and philosophy, from India. When the Hindūs had become disciples of Buddha, from the ninth century before Christ, the whole world of civilization, east and west, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, caught many a maxim of grandeur, and especially of mercy to others, the brightest gem of theoretical Christianity, from the followers of that mild sage, the greatest man, in some respects, that has ever lived on earth.

The less ancient eastern Aryan intrusion into Central Asia, starting from the same or neighbouring northern regions, met with the Aral, apparently on its western shore. They passed thence to the banks of the Oxus, which then discharged its waters into the Caspian. Arrived in Khurāsān, they split into two bands. One of these spread out east and west until they met with sections of their cousins of the former irruption in the first direction, and with the Armenians in the latter. They did not recognise either. Their speech, their clothing, their customs, their religions, were more or less unlike, more or less

SEMITIC EXTENSION, ARYAN INVASIONS



strange to one another. Mutual slaughter, in view of conquest, was the result. The invaders were successful to a great extent for several centuries. Their invasion it was that helped the Semitics to the final conquest of Mesopotamia already mentioned.

The second band of this second intrusion pushed on further south, and then took a westerly route parallel to the Indian Ocean, so as ultimately to occupy the modern province of Fars, the original Persia, where they took some ages to multiply and grow into importance. The effects of the glacial period may not have as yet been quite recovered from in these parts.

Meanwhile, the Semitic races, having fully established their predominance in Mesopotamia, began to push on further to the east, and finally subjugated the new North-Persian Aryans, with many a Turanian people in and beyond Transoxiana. These were the older Babylonian and the Assyrian empires, lasting altogether many centuries. This extension of the Semitic sway, from the Mediterranean to China and Tataria, for so long a period of time, completely cut off all communication and all mutual knowledge between the now southern Aryans of India and Persia on the one hand, and the north-eastern Aryans of the Ural, and Qipchaq on the other. The south-western Aryans, from Armenia westwards, wherever they had penetrated, had long lost, or had never had, since very early times, a recollection or knowledge of those distant cousins.

The Semitic races at length fell in their turn into decadence. A Median Arya arose and acquired importance in northern Persia, at the time when the

Greeks were extending. Newer Babylon cast, at the same epoch, temporarily, a renewed Semitic glare around. But under Cyrus, the southern Aryans of Persia began an empire that extended, in a short time, from Pamir nearly to the Adriatic, and included Syria, Arabia, and Egypt. When those "Medes and Persians" came in contact with the Hindūs on the one hand, and with the Armenians, Pelasgians, Scythians, and Greeks on the other, not one of those races recognised another as kindred; each termed the other barbarians.

As before mentioned, that Persian empire was overturned by the Pelasgian Alexander of Macedon. During the ages in which these events occurred, the Latin races of Aryans, the nucleus of which has remained to this day scattered along from the highest Alps, across Hungary, Transylvania, and Dacia, to the shores of the Black Sea, had long since sent out colonies into Italy, perhaps before the Adriatic was, and these had gradually amalgamated with their neighbours, the Chinese Etruscans, the Turanians of Latium, and the Pelasgians of Magna Græcia, to build up the sturdy and politic Roman republic and empire, that became the eventual heir to the western half of Alexander's conquests. This Roman extension to the east gave the opportunity, and first a Parthian, then a Meso-Persic, Sāsānian Empire were re-established there by the Aryans of Persia, who fought the Romans with varying success, until both were smitten down by the regenerated Semitic followers of the successors to the Arabian prophet and lawgiver, Muhammed.

Those Muslim warriors, at first a mere party in

the little town of Medīna, with a few dozens of refugees from Mekka, numbered but 314 men in their first victorious fight against the Mekkans at Bedr, in the year 623 A.D. Ere a century had elapsed, their empire extended from the Pyrenees, through North Africa, and all South Asia, to Pamir and Hindūstān.

While this empire of Islām was in progress of formation, as for many centuries before that, the North-Western Aryans, Celts, Goths, Teutons, Slavs, etc., had been busy imitating their eastern and southern cousins. They had gradually emerged from the Ural, peopled all Russia, now dry land, overrun Western Europe, with a portion of Asia Minor, and had exterminated the bulk of the Turanian races. They had penetrated into Scandinavia, *vid* Denmark, leaving only the Laplanders and Fins to bear witness to what had been. They had exterminated the Iberians and driven the Berbers to the mountains or deserts. After many vicissitudes, Latin Rome fell under their blows. The Thracian races ceased to be recognisable, and Europe was Aryan from the Ural to the Atlantic. A few centuries later a new, a Frankish western empire arose and the Church of Papal Rome was constituted. Eastern or New Rome, the Lower Empire, struggled on for 1,000 years under the successive blows of Zoroastrian Meso-Persia, of Islām, of the barbaric Northern Aryans, and of Papal Rome.

After a short period of Semitic Muslim rule in Western Asia, the long-dispossessed Turanian races from beyond Pamir and the Aral, at first introduced as mercenaries or slaves, began anew to found prin-

cipalities in the eastern parts of South-Western Asia. These gradually became kingdoms, empires, including all Persia and part of India. They voluntarily adopted the religion of their mixed Semitic and Aryan subjects, Islām. Later, Asia Minor fell also under their sway, though still termed Rome.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Turanian and Pagan Jengīz, from being a petty chieftain in a part of the country lying between Siberia and the great Chinese desert, founded a new empire. This extended, at its zenith, from the Ægæan to the eastern Pacific, including all China and nearly all Russia, to the confines of Poland and Germany, but excluding India, Arabia, and Africa.

It did not last long; the nucleus had been too widely, too rapidly scattered. In less than a century China was lost. The remainder, when the successors of Jengīz had all adopted the religion of Islām, was variously subdivided. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Turanian, but Muslim Tīmūr almost rivalled Jengīz. He added Northern India to the Empire of Islām and died on his road to recover China. His family sat on the throne of India to our day, erroneously known to Europe as the Great Moguls. They were pure Turks.

At Tīmūr's death, all became chaos in Western Asia, and after a while the Ottoman Empire, the neo-Persian kingdom, the Uzbegs in Transoxiana, and the so-called Grand Moguls—the house of Tīmūr—in India, shared out South-Western Asia between them.

The Western Frankish Empire in Europe had

gone to the dogs, all but in name; and many kingdoms had taken its place. Poland and Sweden had been ephemerally great, and Russia had come into existence and power now in the very cradle of all the Aryan races. The New World had been discovered, the road to India round the Cape of Good Hope had been turned to account; the insular world of the Indian and Pacific Oceans had been explored.

In time, while Russia and England grew, India, Persia, and Turkey have declined. Russia had advanced to the south, threatening India by way of Transoxiana, Persia by way of the Caspian and Georgia, Turkey both in Europe and in Asia Minor. England, meanwhile, has advanced into Bactria; and thus Aryan confronts Aryan on the old battle-fields of the Pelasgian Alexander of Macedon; the prize, now, as then, is the Empire of Western Asia.

The Semitic, Asiatic Aryan, and Turanian races are for the moment in decadence. China and Japan appear to be on the move. Europe is groaning under its own stifling panoply, and offers a spectacle, the result of which time alone can show:—a grand, but also a saddening spectacle, when considered as the result of nearly two thousand years of civilization and of peace-preaching, but ever aggressive Christianity.

The foregoing sketch has offered many an example of the rising again of a race to the re-possession of widely-extended empire. Is it, then, wise to assert, as is now so often done, that an effete people cannot be resuscitated? A defunct kingdom may, perhaps, never rise again; but a race, until extinct, has always within it a potentiality of seizing power anew.

We cannot help calling special attention to the divergence that exists between the origin of the Aryan races as here suggested and that adopted by Sanskrit and Zend scholars from the supposed indications of ancient hymns. However interesting, from their great antiquity, those hymns cannot be allowed to possess an authority greater than that of the Mosaic record. These all give the result of legendary lore, incorrectly conceived at first, incorrectly handed down, and incorrectly recorded; besides being also, perhaps, incorrectly understood. There is no such error in the indications of geology, though these too may for a time be misinterpreted, and may frequently be modified by more recent discoveries. The theories hitherto put forward appear to me to contain impossibilities, which I have essayed to explain away to my own satisfaction. The result I offer to the consideration of such as, like myself, have felt doubt.

The scholars in question have selected the plateau of Pamir as the cradle of the Aryan, or of the human race. Pamir is a plateau at an elevation of 16,000 feet above the sea, necessarily covered with snow and ice during the greater part of the year. How could such a country be the cradle of any race? It is about 150 miles square, and is far removed from any place where, in modern geological times, a sea has been. The nearest is the great Chinese desert. Did Noah or Manu come from China or Turania across that sea to Pamir? We will not ask how the distribution of the races took place thence. It would be hopeless. But, with regard to the Aryans of Europe, we venture to press upon the

serious consideration of all inquirers the following facts.

Pamir lies in latitude about 36° to 38° N. In that latitude the phenomenon of the zodiacal light is a conspicuous object in the eastern sky before day-dawn, and in the western sky after nightfall, for a considerable period before and after the two equinoxes, in the morning in the autumn, and in the evening at the spring season. Shepherds, travellers, guards, and armies, must see and notice the glaring effulgence. Had the Aryans of Europe come from Pamir, they would have carried with them in all their wanderings a knowledge of that phenomenon, provided they did not wander into high latitudes, where it is, if at all, but dimly and rarely visible.

Now the Aryans of Europe, even after Alexander's conquests and Ptolemy's residence in Egypt, remained in entire ignorance of the existence of the zodiacal light, until it was observed by an Englishman in London, in its springtide evening phase, about the year 1640. In 1680 it was first named the *Zodiacal light* by Cassini at Paris; both which places are far to the north of Pamir. The simple conclusion we draw from these premisses is that the ancestors of the Aryans of Europe were never at or near Pamir, but came from a land far to the north; where that phenomenon is not visible. Their ignorance of it is hence naturally accounted for, and thus we leave the question.

J. W. REDHOUSE.

LONDON, *March*, 1880.

EARLY ITALIAN DRAMATIC LITERATURE.

BY R. DAVEY, ESQ.

(Read March 26th, 1879.)

WHEN upon the downfall of the Roman Empire, the barbarians invaded Italy, they destroyed nearly every vestige of the fine arts, and none suffered more than the drama, which had so eminently flourished under the ancients. In consequence, for several centuries, if we except the reign of the enlightened Theodoric, we find in Italian history, scarcely any mention of the occurrence of theatrical or spectacular representations. In one shape or other, however, plays, enacted either by human beings, or puppets, *Marionetti*, were still common, but they were of so degraded a character that the Church discountenanced them.

As early as the fifth century, Cyrus, bishop of Genoa, threatened all who attended theatres with excommunication, and St. Isidore, in his homilies, entreats all good Christians to shun playhouses "as places of abomination, where Venus presides over corruption and Mercury teaches iniquity." Three centuries later, Athon II, bishop of Vercelli, issued a pastoral against the theatres, and, to judge from the description he gives of the performances, he was justified in condemning them. The plays alluded to by these worthies, as also by St. Thomas of Aquinas,

are generally believed by learned Italians to have been of the basest specimens of pagan histrionic art, which, notwithstanding the progress of Christianity, still survived among the "plebeians." The determined attitude of the Popes and of the clergy in discountenancing them, however, at last succeeded, and they were finally replaced by the miracle plays and sacred dramas which soon became general throughout Europe. Among the most popular writers of this latter class of composition was Rosweida, called "the Nun of Gandersheim," whose works were written in Latin and performed at a very early epoch all over Italy. Six of these are mentioned by Fabricius in his "Bibliotheca Latina," and are "The Conversion of St. Paul;" "The Passion of St. Irene;" "Climachus;" "Abraham;" "Mary Magdalen;" and "Faith, Hope and Charity." There is a controversy, at present, concerning the genuineness of the works of this Roswitha or Rosweida, of Gandersheim. While the mysteries were delighting especially the pious on Sunday and holiday afternoons, another class of Italian plays, of a profane nature, were attracting large audiences, notwithstanding the censures of the clergy. Albertino Mussato assures us that the most renowned deeds of history were dramatized in the "vulgar tongue" at a very early age, and he himself wrote in Italian, in imitation of Seneca's style, a tragedy on the life and adventures of Ezzelino. These plays, however, the accurate Gingueny says, were for the most part improvised by the actors, or at any rate, so lightly considered for their literary merits, as not to be preserved in any of the National Libraries. I imagine they are

the originals of the Maggi, still common in Tuscany, amongst the peasantry.

A Maggio, is a regular dramatic poem of a tragico-historic description, though sometimes enlivened with comic scenes. It is declaimed to a peculiar rhythm.

> Sappia il popolo romano
> Che all' armi è sempre andato,
> Si prepari andar sull' atto
> Contro il perfido Africano.

As the performers are mostly peasants, and usually illiterate, they are obliged to have the words repeated to them over and over again, until they learn them by heart. The authors of these plays are anonymous. Occasionally a MS. or roughly printed copy of one can be picked up at some old bookstall in an out-of-the-way Italian city. The Lucchese is the part of Tuscany where these plays are still acted with something like enthusiasm. The performance usually takes place in a barn. A sheet does duty for scenery and the parts of the women are entrusted to boys. I rather think the name of "Maggio" is given to them because they are most frequently enacted in the genial month of May. Many Italian writers hold that they do not date beyond a hundred years, but the more learned majority persist in believing they belong to a period of remote antiquity.

But I do not intend wasting time with any details concerning the Italian mystery plays. They resemble in most points those familiar to all students of literature, and the following sample from one of them will suffice as an illustration of their merits, and show how utterly unfit they would be for the modern stage. Thus in the *sacra farsa*—sacred farce—of

"The Death and Resurrection of Lazarus" (1113) the personages introduced are—The Almighty (*Padre Eterno*), Jesus Christ, the Virgin, Martha and Mary, Lazarus, Pluto! the Guardian Angel, the rich Dives, the Devil, and an anonymous comic personage." This "farce" is one of the oldest known, and is, to say the least of it, very droll. In one scene an entire epistle of St. Paul is read to the Devil, and in another is the following speech made by "the comic personage" to the "Padre Eterno."

"What? Master *Padre Eterno*, will you save that wretch Dives, that imp of Beelzebub, whose whole time, when he was upon earth, was spent in stuffing himself with all kind of good things? Why my dear *Padre Eterno*, *Carissimo Padre Eterno mio*, it would be tempting yourself to have anything to do with a fellow who only thinks of fat capons and pretty girls. Abide by me and have nothing to do with him. I see by the way you move your eyebrows that you are already half of my way of thinking. Be persuaded, my dear Padre Eterno, and you will not repent following my advice?" The "Padre" follows it and to the delight of a squadron of extra demons summoned for the purpose, and of the "comic personage," Dives is forthwith sent to a safe but warm abode.

The Renaissance is undoubtedly one of the most important epochs in modern history. For two hundred years before its sun had fully ascended the horizon, a pale aurora announced its coming. Already in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were men in Italy familiar with much of the lore of the ancients, and who lived, as it were, in

advance of the rest of the world. In the monasteries dwelt learned persons conversant with the literature of Greece and Rome. But they scarcely ventured to expose their refined culture to the rude and turbulent, and wrote for the learned only, either in Latin or Greek. At last Dante Alighieri sang forth to the people in their "vulgar language," his mighty poem, the "Divina Commedia." It was the first time that the "language of the vulgar" had been thus nobly used. Hitherto the learned, as I have said, wrote for the learned alone, but the genius of Dante told him that the world was ripening, and that the time was rapidly coming when the people as well as the select few, would be able to understand great things. The "Divina Commedia" acted upon the literary world like a mighty trumpet. It awakened hundreds to imitate its creator. Petrarch wrote also in modern Italian, and so did Boccaccio and a host of others. In a few years the new language was formed, and presently, when the illustrious house of Medici became conspicuous for power and influence, the Renaissance burst upon the world in radiant brilliance. The mere utterance of that word, that magic word Renaissance, must enkindle your imagination and bring before you, almost involuntarily, a host of images and pictures brilliant as those on a canvas of Paul Veronese or Tintoretto. Pictures of the moonlit Orti Ruccelai, the gardens of Bernardo Ruccelai, at whose suppers might have been heard the delightful and sage talk of such men as Politian Benivieni and Lorenzo di Medici, the philosophical disputes of the versatile Pico della Mirandola, while not far distant, in the Academy of St. Mark, the

chisels and hammers of Michael Angelo and Donatello made the marble ring, and in the shadow of the neighbouring monastery, Fra Bartolomeo della Porta taught Raphael himself how to deepen the tones and foreshadow the figures in his immortal paintings. The Renaissance had called into life once more all the Muses, and again Melpomene and her sister Thalia had their worshippers, and incense rose as of yore before their shrines.

Towards the commencement of the fourteenth century the sacred dramas began to give way to the profane. Mussato composed two Latin tragedies in imitation of those of Seneca entitled, "Eccerimis" and "Achilles"; later he wrote his still celebrated "Ezzilino tyrant of Padua." The revival—"renaissance," of classical literature—had already begun, and of course its influence was soon felt upon the drama. Mussato was presently rivalled by Giovanni Manzini della Motta, who wrote a tragedy upon his gallant contemporary, Antonio della Scala. It is perhaps a little known fact that Petrarch also tried his hand at playwriting, but, according to a letter, No. 7—in the second volume of his correspondence—his "La Philologia," was a comedy not worth preserving. Two other plays are attributed in an old manuscript in the Laurentine Library at Florence to this illustrious poet. The subject of one of them is, Medea, but it is uncertain whether it is not really by Mussato or Mota.

The creation of a great dramatic literature in Italy, dates, however, from the opening of the fifteenth century. In the meantime, the Latin and Greek tragedies and comedies were produced upon

stages erected, for the purpose, in the palaces of the various sovereigns who then ruled over Italy, and a number of imitations of them were added to the repertory, but always in the two great dead languages. They were not acted in regular theatres, but in the court-yards of the palaces of the cardinals and princes, or in the public squares upon state occasions; such, for instance, as the coronation of a Pope, the arrival of an ambassador, or the marriage of a prince.

Hercules I. Duke of Ferrara, possessed a perfect mania for the stage and spent large sums upon theatrical amusements, and he may be credited with having revived dramatic art in Italy, and to him the Italians owe the first translation of a comedy by Plautus.

It may not be uninteresting, if I here quote a few passages from the little known Diary of Sanuto, chamberlain to Donna Lucrezia Borgia, concerning the manner in which these classical plays were "mounted." In his minute chronicle of the marriage festivities and progresses of this famous or infamous Princess, he tells us that on February 2nd, 1442, —on the occasion of the entry into Ferrara of Don Alfonzo and his bride "the Borgia"—two dances were performed in the grand hall of the palace and that afterwards the Duke *reviewed* the actors, who were engaged in the forthcoming comedies, one hundred men and five women in number. Readers of Shakespeare will remember Hamlet's "*reviewing*" the players who were to enact the murder of Gonzalo of Vienna. It must, evidently, from the mention of it in Sanuto's "Diary," have

been a custom of the age—to thus inspect the troupe and probably encourage the actors to do their best to make the festivities successful. But to return to Sanuto's Diary, which is said to contain the first allusion made to the representation of plays in Italy on a scale of any magnitude :—"The actors," he tells us, "were dressed in the Moorish fashion. First one of them, who was costumed to represent Plautus, recited scenes from the said five comedies, namely, the Epidicus, Miles Gloriosus, the Bacchides, the Asinaria, and the Casina. Then at six o'clock there was a representation of a very good Moorish interlude, a number of soldiers in antique costumes, with red and white plumes, and helmets, breastplates, etc. One part of them had maces and the other axes, and they all attacked a third party which had swords and pretended to fight, and it was "a mighty fine sight to see." "The whole entertainment that night concluded with the following 'delectable spectacle,' to wit, the performance of a fire-eater, who astonished everybody by swallowing lighted candles and burning tow." On the next night the Bacchides of Plautus was produced, and, as we should say on our play bills, "after which" there was "a Moorish interlude, in which a dragon was slain, and a number of men ran about like maniacs in their shirts, with nightcaps on their heads, and bladders tied to sticks in their hands, with which they beat each other, the whole—oh! sweet odour!—to the light of burning turpentine."

To make a long story short, on each evening a different classical comedy was given, followed by an interlude of the character already described. On

Shrove Tuesday the amusements came to a brilliant close.

The Casina was "beautifully," nay "divinely" acted, *divinamente*. Then came an interlude of buffo music—(opera bouffe) and, *nota bene*, "a French woman in a French dress of taffeta, crimson and gold and very short, sang a number of ballads. Then she held up an inscription of 'love withers not'"; on this six pretty boys ran upon the stage and tried to snatch it from her, but could not, and they then all sang together very sweetly. Then they went out and fetched Cupid—who it appears was appropriately "*nudo con ali!*" who shot the lady with his arrow, but apparently did not wound her mortally, since it is finally recorded of her "that she sang a ballad about hope and danced a jig—*salta*."

Wild men next came upon the scene with a big globe which opened and displayed, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, and Prudence, represented by four beautiful ladies, who, when they descended from their chairs of state, danced in the Spanish fashion.

"After this there was a concert of good music and we all went to bed much satisfied, but without any supper, because it was so late, and the next day was Ash Wednesday, and my lord and my lady went to mass and kept quiet until the afternoon, when Donna Lucrezia paid the players a visit in the grand hall, graciously thanked them for their entertainment and gave them fine presents of pieces of satin, velvet and gold brocade."

I have translated this extract from Sanuto's very minute account of the wedding festivities of Lucrezia Borgia, and I wish I had the time to give some

further of his curious details concerning the astonishing magnificence of Lucrezia's garments. Her dresses were changed three times a day and never worn again. At the representation just mentioned of the Casina, Sanuto tells us, "Lucrezia wore a gold brocade dress slashed and bound with white silk, a train of crimson satin flowered with gold and lined with ermine. On her head a tiara of diamonds and pearls, with peacock feathers made of emeralds, opals and rubies."

But a truce to Messire Sanuto and his gossipy but invaluable diary. It is to Trissino that Italy owes her first regular tragedy. Leo X. had already been upon his throne two years (1515) when the Sofonisba of Trissino was enacted before him and his court. It was dedicated to this enlightened Pope, but was not printed until 1524. Trissino was a man of some genius, and his style appears to me simple and unaffected, perhaps at the same time powerful and dramatic. He was not, however, an archbishop or even a prelate, as Voltaire, and several other writers, style him. Trissino was born at Vicenza in 1478, and was twice married. His first wife was Giovanna Tiene, by whom he had a son, afterwards archpriest of the cathedral of Vicenza. The death of Giovanna induced him to leave his native city and fix his abode in Rome, where he won the friendship of the Cardinal di Medici, afterwards Leo X. He visited England, on his road to Denmark, whither he was sent as page or ambassador in 1516. He was page or train-bearer, on the occasion of the coronation of Clement VII. at Bologna. Ten days after that gorgeous ceremony Trissino married his second

wife, and began a law-suit with his son the archpriest, which eventually caused him so much sorrow and vexation of spirit that he died broken-hearted in 1550. I give these few details concerning his life, because he is constantly called "Archbishop" by English and French authors on Italian literature. His literary fame rests entirely upon his tragedy of Sofonisba—which he wrote in strict obedience to the rules established by Aristotle. His comedy of the Simillimi is decidedly inferior to the tragedy. He keeps his chorus constantly upon the stage and this of course militates against any possible illusion or strong dramatic effect. The first act of Sofonisba is said to be the best, but I think the interminable accounts of the expeditions of the Romans into Africa, under Hannibal, with which Sofonisba favours her attendant Ermenia, render justifiable that faithful young lady's frequent interruption of the narrative. The death-scene of the Queen is really grand, simple and pathetic. It is far more true to nature than is the similar scene in Alfieri's tragedy of the same name. Trissino lived in a wholesomer, freer atmosphere than Alfieri, whose great genius suffered from the artificial influences of the eighteenth century. Trissino's Sofonisba dies like a woman, naturally; Alfieri's like a stage queen, having preferred to take poison, rather than to fall into the hands of her enemy. Trissino's heroine evidently repents the rash deed, though she is too proud to say so, in so many words. Life seems sweet to her now that she is forced to leave it. She thinks of her mother and father in a far-off country, to whom the shock of her death will indeed be terrible.

"O madre mia, quanto lontana sieti,
Almen potuto avessi una sola volta,
Vederti, ed abbriaciarvi ne la mia morte."

"Oh dear mother mine, how far off thou art: would that I could see and embrace thee once more before I die."

How natural and sweet these lines addressed to the attendant Erminia! "I'm so glad you are near me and seem to pity me. I shall die quietly now. I'll call you sister—*sorella mia*—Will you not take my little son from me?" Erminia answers: "O sweet gift from so kind a hand." "You will be a mother to him, will you not?" entreats the dying Queen. "You will go to the far-off land where my mother and my father dwell, and tell them how I died. Alas! poor souls, 'twill kill them with grief. Do not weep for me. All things born are doomed to die—'a che piangeti? non sapete ancora, che cio, che nasce, a morte si destina.' Death is at hand, already I am descending into the dark valley. Oh! my little son, soon thou wilt have no mother. I grow cold. Farewell. I am far on my way, so far, so far—I go. *Addio.*"

To the genius of Giovanni Ruccellai, Italy owes her second great tragedy, "Rosmunda." Of an ancient and illustrious house, the grand-nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent was one of the foremost literary lights of his age. You all have heard of those enchanting gardens, which his father Bernado caused to be laid out behind his noble palace in Florence; gardens, which but lately have received additional fame from the genius of George Eliot, who has, with her graphic pen, described, as taking

place therein a supper-party of *literati*, whereunto comes at an inopportune moment, the wretched father of the selfish Tito Malemi, the noble Romola's faithless husband.

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victim, like Phædra and Myrrha, of the hatred and jealousy of Venus. The literary merit of this dreadful play is great. The conflicts of reason and passion are strongly delineated, and the remorse of the guilty brother and sister, who are pursued to their singular fall by a cruel fate, is touching and natural. This work marks a departure from the ordinary method of versification hitherto employed by the Italians in their tragedies. It is written in short lines of five and six syllables, and has a light rhythmic sound, which Tasso afterwards imitated and adopted in his pastorals.

I take a sample of this peculiar style from the 5th Act. Macareo speaks—

"Qui non si vede, e dentro,
Non si ode pur un segno,
Di vendetta o di sdegno."

"Here nought is to be seen,
Either within or without,
Of vengeance or of hate."

Speroni's death, which occurred in 1588 and in his 88th year, was occasioned by a fright. The poor old gentleman was in his country-house near Padua. Some burglars got into his room one night, and after tying his hands and feet to the bed, made off with his money and plate. He was found dead the next morning.

I have elsewhere quoted a passage from the Diary of Sanuto which gives some idea of how the Latin plays were "mounted," to use the technical expression. Five years after the entry of Donna Lucrezia into

Ferrara several theatres of size and importance were already in existence in various parts of Italy. Hercules I. of Ferrara built in that city a very large theatre capable of seating 4,000, and very soon theatrical performances were given elsewhere in theatres built for the purpose. When the notorious Bianca Capello married Francis I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, sumptuous theatrical representations were given in her honour, in the inner court of the Pitti Palace. The scenery was magnificent, and constantly changed. The costumes were sumptuous. In one scene, the stage was flooded with real water, nymphs rose from it, Neptune in his car ascended to the surface, surrounded by Tritons, and the whole picture was illuminated by a pale green light intended to represent reflection of the moon. Still more beautiful were the spectacles represented before the bride of the Grand Duke Ferdinand, Christina of Lorraine. The architect thereof was the renowned Buonincontri and the painter Bronzino. Indeed the scenery in the Italian theatre has always been magnificent and has often employed the abilities of such artists as Ribera, Salvator Rosa and Bronzino. The painter and architect, Bernini, once wrote a play, composed the music, painted the scenes and acted the principal character himself. This work was entitled "Il triumpho d'Amphitrito" and was produced in the Chigi Palace, Rome, 1590.

I must, however, observe, that far greater magnificence has always been lavished upon operatic entertainments, than upon those which were purely dramatic. Accuracy of costume has always been

maintained in Italy, and Greek and Roman plays were never produced there as in France or with us, by actors, like Garrick and Pritchard, in powder, pigtails and patches.

Before briefly mentioning the early Italian writers of Comedies, I will pause a moment and consider the impression generally produced, by the perusal of the Tragic literature of this period. I am, in the first place, surprised to notice, that there is no gradual transition, as with us, from the mystery plays to the full-blown and perfect tragedy: no work for instance which corresponds with our "Gammer Gunter's Needle" or "Pierce Plowman," no rude and crude effort, preceding the finished work. The Italian dramatist passed at once, nearly a century before Racine and Corneille, to a classical perfection, rarely reached by those great writers whose plays are only a little too elaborate and lengthy, to quite satisfy a disciple of Aristotle. Again, there are very few, if any, attempts as with us, of placing contemporary events upon the stage. At a period when the Criminal Courts of Italy were teeming with the singular and picturesque domestic tragedies which supplied our dramatists with plots, the Italian dramatists turned to Greek and Roman myths and histories for their subjects. Victoria Accromboni, the beautiful Duchess of Braciano, is scarcely dead, ere our Webster gives the people of London a dramatic version of her appalling career and fate, in the "White Devil." The then recent assassination of Catherine, Duchess of Amalfi, furnishes him with a plot for his sombre, but almost sublime melo-drama of "The Duchess of Malfy." The crimes of Bianca

Capello, of the Duchess Caraffa and of other notorious ladies are "boyed," as Cleopatra would have said, at the Globe and the Friars, almost as soon as the news thereof can reach London. The Italian Novel influenced our dramatic literature, the Italian Drama scarcely at all, and this, for the simple reason that the genius of the Italian Theatre was classical and ours romantic. The Italians can scarcely tolerate even now the mixture of tragedy, comedy, low buffoonery, pantomime, opera and farce, in the few translations they have produced on their stage of some of Shakespeare's works. Still, the early Italian dramatic literature, like our own, was amazingly imbued with horrors, murder, cruelty, incest and every manner of iniquity, which even the gentle Tasso could not resist introducing into his Torrismondo. The age was a coarse one.

To thoroughly understand the Renaissance, something must be learned of the gloomy side of the brilliant pictures thereof usually flashed before our eyes. Leave to it all the judicial terror of the middle ages, and add thereunto, the mysterious horrors of the Inquisition and Star Chamber and some idea will have been formed of the terrific and bloody character of this age of great artists, learned men, thumbscrews, glorious buildings, noble statues, autos-da-fé, and slow and lingering judicial deaths. Remember the old Italian dramatists and our own Shakespeare wrote for audiences which, like themselves, were accustomed to sights which would revolt and sicken us. The whole court of Paris, ladies and gentlemen, beaux and belles, went for three consecutive after-

noons to see Ravaillac's bloody carcass pinched and tormented, before it was finally torn in pieces by wild horses, in a manner, the mere reading of the description of which makes one's hair stand on end. Every street gossip could tell you, how the bodies of criminals were racked and their flesh burnt—here in "bonnie England"—for stealing. People, who saw Puritans and Catholics going about with their noses slit and their ears cut off, were not likely to look upon the plucking out of the eyes of Gloster, or the amputation of Lavinia's tongue, with much horror and indignation. On entering a city two centuries ago, what first greeted your eyes?—A dozen bloody heads set up on pikes over the gate. Cross the bridge, on either side are twenty other heads, in various stages of decay. They are not even removed on occasions of state rejoicing and princely pageant. Queen Henrietta Maria stops on London bridge to ask whose each head is she sees, on her return to England, after her exile, and is greatly gratified to know that they belonged to men who had contributed to the misfortunes of her husband Charles I. In the public market-places, women and children were pelted with rotten eggs, miserable wretches had their feet and hands pushed through a pillory, women were flogged, or witches roasted. Torture was the judicial spirit of the epoch, and, strange to say, not a voice, not even those of the tender hearted Saints Francis of Assisi or Vincent of Paul, who first pitied dumb beasts and cared for abandoned children, are raised against the torture chamber. It remained for Beccaria, to render his name for ever immortal, late in the eighteenth

century, by writing a few pages at once logical and eloquent in which, with matchless vigour he invited and finally induced humanity to emancipate itself from the most foul and horrible leprosy, except slavery, which ever afflicted our race. Honour, thrice honour to Beccaria and also to Voltaire, who by his matchless essay on Calas completed the former's gigantic work.

To a people, therefore, accustomed to the sight of blood, a strong and bloody drama, was absolutely necessary, and to a people just emancipated from the tight grasp of an austere past—the Middle Ages—the necessary reaction into which circumstances forced them—accounts for the licentiousness of their comedy and of their novels.

Thalia, the merry twin sister of the august but dreary Melpomene, ever keeps pace with her, and follows her like her shadow. In the first part of this paper I mentioned the performances of the Mimi or Mimics, and the censures their licentious antics brought down upon their devoted heads from the supreme Pontiffs and the bishops. Through all the revolutions of centuries, and all the trouble and woe, the cheery face of Comedy has smiled and made the people laugh. She insinuated herself, as we have seen, as the "Comic Personage" into the sacred mysteries. She did more, she improvised plays, independent of religion, which satirized the domestic life of the people, the *genti*, the folks. And when the Renaissance dawned and the learned delighted the learned, by revivals of the comedies of Plautus and Terence, the poor and lowly *Mimi*, in the courtyards of the Inns, convulsed

the good hearted people by their jests and their wit. There was, indeed, a rivalship between the cultured Latin actors, whose popularity was on the increase, and the poor *Mimi.* They presently began to write their plays, instead of improvising them and soon the famous comedian Flaminio Scala, added to his stock excellent adaptations by himself from the antique. Several of these have been printed and may be found in the Library at Milan. It is, however, but too true, that the hideous licentiousness of the comic dramatic literature of Italy, at this period, fully justified the indignation of St. Charles Borromeo. It is from the Mimi—or masked actors—for they wore masks—that we derive our Harlequin, Pantaloon, Clown and Columbine, a subject of the highest interest, but foreign to this paper. In the sixteenth century, the Italian stage was divided into two separate bodies —so to speak—the Mimi and the Classicists. With the Mimi, by the way, the play of Don Giovanni or Festa di Pietra was the most popular, while, with the Classicists, who acted at court the Mandragola of Macchiavelli, the Cassaria, the Supposite of Ariosto, and the Calandrio of the Cardinal da Babiena were chiefly accepted.

It is unnecessary to comment upon the career of Macchiavelli, as the history of his life and the fame of his genius are well known, even in England. Leo X. was still a Cardinal, when he first laughed at the wit of the Mandragola, the best but about the most scurrilous comedy in the Italian language. When finally he became Pope, he could not resist the temptation of witnessing once more this amusing piece, which the police of to-day would assuredly not

tolerate, even at Naples. Is it to be wondered that the world was ripening for the Reformation, when the scholastic successor of Peter could sit out the unutterable nastiness of such a play as the Mandragola? I *cannot* describe what it is about, nor can I even by hints, trace out the queer legend on which the action of this fine—fine in a literary sense—comedy runs. It contains two characters of wonderful power; Nicia, of whom Macaulay says—"Nicia's mind is occupied by no strong feeling, it takes every character and retains none. Its aspect is diversfied not by passions, but by faint and transitory semblances thereof." In a word he is a masterly creation, the equal of any of our Shakespeare's best comic characters of Malvolio and Sir Toby, of Falstaff and Andrew Aguecheek. Padre Timoteo the priest, is the original of Tartuffe and consequently of Joseph Surface. Timoteo is a hypocrite of the first water and a rascal. When we repeat that he is a priest, it is really amazing that the Pope should have tolerated his appearing in a play enacted before his assembled court. Indeed almost any sample of his wit is too gross, too impious for modern ears. His scurrility is too shocking, though his sly humour is amusing enough. He is the incarnation of the bad priest, at once hypocrite and intriguer. Money is his God, and for money he consents to pervert the chaste Lucrezia's mind, and make her the dupe of the rascality of the hero of the piece, a gay Lothario named Calimacho. There is a tradition that the intrigue of the piece and the characters were all taken from life, and at Florence, its success was prodigious, because every-

place therein a supper-party of *literati*, whereunto comes at an inopportune moment, the wretched father of the selfish Tito Malemi, the noble Romola's faithless husband.

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time we have occasioned you. If from the sea of words we have uttered, there be a few which have given you pleasure and instruction, let them plead for us and you; in your great charity, magnify them, until they cover all our faults and obtain our pardon."

R. DAVEY.

"BUST OF HERMES

FROM HEROUM AT OLYMPIA"

PRAXITELES AND THE HERMES WITH THE DIONYSOS-CHILD FROM THE HERAION IN OLYMPIA.

BY CHARLES WALDSTEIN, PH.D.

(Read December 17th, 1879.)

PAUSANIAS, in the 16th Chapter of the 5th Book of his Travels in Greece, describes most minutely the Temple of Hera, the Heraion in Olympia. It was a most ancient temple of peculiar construction: Pausanias mentions that one of the pillars was of oak. Once in every Olympiad the sixteen priestesses of Hera offered to the goddess a cloak woven by themselves; a similar custom obtained in Athens, where the garment was dedicated to Athene Parthenos in the Parthenon. On the occasion of this festival there was a foot-race between the maiden priestesses of Hera, and the victors were crowned with olive and received a share of the cow offered to the goddess. The statue[1] of a maiden in the act of running, clad in a short skirt or chiton, barely reaching the knees, in archaic folds, most probably represents one of these priestesses.

Pausanias mentions, in the 17th Chapter, a number of statues which he remarked in this temple; among others, those of Zeus and Hera. He characterizes these two statues as of poor work, and

[1] Visconti, Museo Pio Clementino, iii. Tav. 27.

does not mention the artist. After noticing several other statues and giving the names of their sculptors, he mentions another chryselephantine (gold and ivory) group, the names of whose sculptors, however, he declares he does not know. They were, he says, of archaic origin. The Heraion contained many very ancient monuments, such as the chest of Kypselos. He then goes on to state that in later times other statues were dedicated to the temple, such as "a Hermes of stone (marble), carrying the infant Dionysos, a work moreover of Praxiteles."

In the spring of 1877, the German excavators at Olympia came upon a dipteral temple, in which they found columns of unequal construction and style. From this and various other topographical reasons, they concluded, apparently with justice, that they had found the Heraion mentioned by Pausanias.

If by a stretch of sympathy you put yourselves into the place of excavators in the distant Greece and in the lonely valleys of Olympia, burning with scientific ardour, and conscious of the fact that not only the country that sent them, and whose government defrayed the enormous expenses of these excavations, but also the whole of civilized Europe was eagerly watching their proceedings in expectation of great results; and if, furthermore, you bear in mind that the results up to that moment, though considerable, were far below what had been hoped for—then you can adequately figure to yourselves the excitement and joy which thrilled through these men, when in this temple the pick and spade of the diggers cleared away the soil and *débris* of centuries until pure white marble gleamed forth, and gradually the beau-

tiful form of a youthful male figure firmly embedded in the fragments of the wall which had sunk over it, was brought to light.

The legs below the knee, the right fore-arm, the plinth and parts of the trunk of the tree on which the figure rested, were missing. Subsequently, however, fragments of a little child, which evidently was seated on the left arm of this figure, together with some drapery which hung down from the left arm, and other fragments, were found.[2] Behind the statue, which had fallen on its face, a square block was found, between the two pillars which evidently served as a pedestal for the statue. The face, moreover, and the whole surface is in an unprecedented state of preservation, not a particle of the finely-cut nose injured. Perhaps in falling forward, the right arm, now broken, served to weaken the fall, and so to preserve the face. There could now be no doubt that this was the marble Hermes with the Dionysos-child by Praxiteles, which Pausanias mentions.

Here was a statue which could undoubtedly be identified with its master, as we can the pedimental figures of the Parthenon with Pheidias, the Discobolos with Myron, the group of Laokoon with Agesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, the Gauls with the Pergamese school; nay, even with greater certainty, for the Parthenon marbles are not from the *hand* of Pheidias, the Discobolus statues and the Gauls are ancient copies, while there has been some debate about the age and school to which the Laokoon group belongs.

[2] Since this paper was read a foot of the Hermes with clear traces of gilding and in excellent preservation, as well as the head and upper part of the Dionysos, have been found.

It is hardly conceivable, how, despite of all this evidence there should have been archæologists who could still doubt. Prof. O. Benndorf, in Lützow's Zeitschrift (Vol. XIII, p. 780), points out, that it is not at all certain whether by Praxiteles is meant *the* Praxiteles; and he even finally endeavours to make it probable that the sculptor of the Hermes was a Praxiteles who lived about 300 B.C., a grandson of the famous Praxiteles, and a contemporary of Theocritus and of Theophrastus. It was a common custom for grandsons to bear the names of their grandfathers, and it was a frequent occurrence in Greece that children should inherit the specific talents of their fathers, and adopt their callings in life. Out of a combination of these two facts, Benndorf constructs the following Praxiteles pedigree. Pausanias mentions a Praxiteles as the sculptor of a group of Demeter Kore and Iacchos in Athens, with an inscription in Attic letters which were in use before the time of Euclid (403 B.C.); this sculptor he supposes to be the grandfather of the famous Praxiteles. (Whenever we mean the famous Praxiteles we shall, as is always done in such cases, use the name without any distinctive attribute.) We know that Kephisodotos the elder, the sculptor of the famous Eirene[3] with the Plutos child (formerly called Leucothea), now in the Glyptothek at Munich, was the father of Praxiteles, and that Kephisodotos lived about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Praxiteles flourished about the middle of the fourth century. In the second half of the fourth century

[3] Brunn, Ueber die sogenannte Leukothea, etc., Sitzungsber. der k. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1867.

Kephisodotos the younger and his brother Timarchos followed in the footsteps of their father. About 300 B.C., we hear of a Praxiteles to whom Theophrastus (who died about 287 B.C.), gave an order to execute a bust at Athens; and this is no doubt the same one mentioned in the Scholia to Theocritus as belonging to the time of Demetrius. To illustrate the frequent recurrence of the name, Benndorf mentions two artists named Praxiteles in Roman times. The one executed a statue of Gaius Aelius Gallus, the prefect of Egypt from 26 to 24 B.C.; another made the portrait of the proconsul Cn. Acerronius Proclus (Consul 37 A.D.) These facts, Benndorf maintains, go so far as to show a possibility that the sculptor of the Hermes was not *the* Praxiteles. (Dr. Klein supports Benndorf's theory and developes it still further.) Lysippian elements, which Benndorf believes he has discovered in the Hermes, and which we shall consider hereafter, drive him to insist upon the probability that the Hermes is the work of the supposed grandson of Praxiteles, who was not exempt from the influence of the renowned sculptor Lysippos, who flourished a generation before him. I shall merely remark here, a point which has already been noticed by Dr. Treu (Der Hermes mit dem Dionysos Knaben, etc., Berlin, 1878), that Lysippos might have been, and I say most probably was, influenced by the work of Praxiteles in the constitution of his canon of human proportions.

The simplest answer to all these objections is, that if Pausanias had meant one of the less famous sculptors of the name, he would have added some attribute or mark of distinction; while, whenever he uses the

name without any distinctive attribute he means the great Praxiteles. Analogous cases in ancient and modern times are present to us all. We must furthermore bear in mind the context of the passage in Pausanias. Pausanias tells us before, that several of the statues are of poor workmanship, and that the sculptors of several of the others are not known; in strong antithesis, as it were, he then mentions a statue, both excellent in work and identified with regard to its author, and tells us that this is a work of Praxiteles, seeming to imply thereby, that being a work of the Praxiteles it must be excellent. The more instances of the recurrence of the same name Benndorf enumerates, the more he fails to disprove the present case being applicable to the great sculptor; and the more does he manifest the need for Pausanias to have specified whom he meant if he did not mean *the* Praxiteles. Prof. Benndorf himself furnishes the best illustration in his enumeration of the Praxiteles pedigree. He there specifies each individual, and only uses the name alone when he means the famous Praxiteles.[4]

[4] The word *τέχνη* used to indicate the sculptor in the passage of Pausanias (*τέχνη δὲ ἐστι Πραξιτελους*), instead of the more common *ἔργον*, or the verbal form *ἐποίει*, *ἐποίησε*, *ἐπόησε*, etc., has also been used to throw some doubt upon the assertion whether this strictly meant that this was a work from the hand of Praxiteles. G. Hirschfeld (Tituli statuarum sculptorumque Graecorum, etc., Berlin, 1871), supposes that *τέχνη* was a later Greek form, influenced by the Roman term opus (Illae autem inscriptiones ex Romanorum usu potius quam ex Graecorum conformatae sunt. Cf. opus Phidiae, opus Praxitelis, etc). Opus does frequently occur in this context as, *e.g.*, on the statues of the Monte Cavallo in Rome. But the word *τέχνη* is used in this context before the times of Roman influence. Nor could the word *τέχνη* stand for either the manual and technical part of the work, or the constructive and originative side, alone. It combines both sides. So, for instance, in

Not only, however, from the records of this statue, but from the fact of its very position in the cella of the Temple we might have presumed it to have been the work of a most renowned sculptor, and of Praxiteles above all. We know that the *ἀγάλματα* within the temple were generally of precious material. In the present case the preceding statues are characterized as being chryselephantine, and the succeeding statue of an Aphrodite by Kleon of Sikyon, is mentioned as being of bronze. The Hermes alone is emphatically stated to be of stone, the commonest material; there must therefore have been great excellence of work inherent in it, and great fame attached to the name of its artist. We know moreover, that marble was the material characteristically used by Praxiteles.[5] It is no doubt owing to this fact that this work of art has been at all preserved to us; for gold and ivory tempted the lusts of the hordes that subsequently overran this district, and bronze suited the common uses of these barbarians. Except a bronze foot on a stone pedestal, no other fragments of a full-sized bronze statue seems

Aristotle (Eth. Nicom. vi. 7), the emphasis in the use of the word is rather upon the technical (in our sense of the word); while Dio Chrysostomos, Or. xii., p. 209, praises the *χάρις τῆς τέχνης* in the Zeus of Pheidias. The use of this word would also be amply accounted for by the natural desire for change in style, to avoid the monotonous repetition of the same word. But I am inclined to believe that the word *τέχνη* was used by Pausanias as a strong word in this context to accentuate the indisputable authorship of Praxiteles with regard to this work as contrasted with the uncertainty as to the sculptors of the works previously mentioned by him.

[5] Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit, fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera. Plin. N.H. xxxiv. 69. Cf. the passages in Overbeck's Schriftquellen, p. 248.

to have been found as yet at Olympia.[6] This fact, again, goes to strengthen my supposition that the other statues in the Heraion were all of precious metal.

As has been already remarked by Hirschfeld (Deutsche Rundschau, 1877), Milchhoefer (Im Neuen Reich, 1877), Treu (*loc. cit.*), Benndorf and others, Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles, the sculptor of the Eirene with the Plutos-child (a subject kindred in its nature to the Hermes with the Dionysos-child), was also the sculptor of a group with the same subject as ours.[7] It is very probable that there was a silent family tradition among sculptor families with regard to certain subjects, and that Praxiteles would be strongly influenced by a work of his father's.

But we can hardly term the work before us a group; there is no approximation to an equal balance of interest between its constituent parts. Our whole interest and attention is attracted by the Hermes, and the infant Dionysos appears only to exist in our mind as a means to account for the expression of individual character and emotion in the Hermes. And how exquisite and plastically perfect is the expression of this emotion. The Hermes, youthful, and yet with paternal tenderness and strength toned down to gentleness; while a breath of sweet melancholy, pleasing in its sad rhythm, rests over the whole composition. The head combines in its features all the characteristics of a youthful Hermes, and of the typically Attic youth. The type of the athlete, the

[6] Since this paper was read a bronze head has been discovered.

[7] Cephisodoti duo fuere; prioris est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens. Plin. N.H. xxxiv. 87.

ephebe, the director and protector of games, and the swift-footed messenger of the gods, is indicated in the firmly cut, tightly connected features, the crisp hair energetically rising from the knit and vigorous brow, in the athletic development of the temples. A second characteristic of Hermes and of the Athenian youth is the acuteness, almost slyness, of intellect (Κλυτόβουλος, δόλιος, etc.); he is the god of skilful speech (λόγιος, facundus[8]); the god of useful inventions[9]; the god of commerce and of thieves (ἐμπολαῖος, πολυγκάπηλος, κερδέμπορος)[10]; the god of luck, of gaming and gamesters (κλῆρος).[11] But what is most apparent in this head are the softer and more gentle qualities which were also possessed by the strong and wary Athenian youth. Hermes is a devoted and ardent lover; a tender and kind father, who, for instance, bestowed the gift of an ever retentive memory on his son Aethalides, the herald of the Argonauts. He was the benign bestower of earthly prosperity and the reliever of the distressed (ἐριούνιος, δώτωρ ἐάων, ἀκακήτης).[12] And the dreaming, soft and melancholy traits which are shed with a glow over the whole figure, are personified in Hermes as the bestower of sweet sleep, whose staff could "close the eyes of mortals,"[13] and as the leader of all dreams, ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων[14]; the leader of the dead, of departed souls, into Hades

[8] Orph. h. 27, 4; Hor. Od. I. 10. 4.
[9] Plut. Symp. 9, 3; Diod. i. 16, v. 75: Hyg. fab. 27.
[10] Aristoph. Plut., 1155, 1156; Orph. h. 27. 6.
[11] Aristoph. Pax, 365, etc.
[12] Il. xxiv. 360, Odyss. viii. 335, Il. xvi. 185.
[13] Il. xxiv. 343, 445.
[14] Hom. h. 14, and Il. ii. 26; Virg. Aen. iv. 556.

(*νεκροπομπός*, *ψυχοπομπός*). In general we may say that Hermes is the most human of the Greek gods.

But, like a great sculptor who has thoroughly conceived the true province of his art and its means of expression, it is not only the head which Praxiteles has formed to express his feelings, his thoughts, his creative mood, however beautiful we know his heads to have been ;[15] we feel his power in the manner in which the head rests upon the neck, and the neck upon the shoulders, and the limbs join on to the body ; in short, in the plastic rhythm of the whole figure as well as in the peculiar modelling of every sinew and muscle, and in each smallest part of the surface.

The main features which Praxiteles has expressed in this statue are those of strength and tenderness. It is not a pure and simple type, such as the earlier times would have given us, strength in a Hêraklês, and softness in a Dionysos, but a composite type of Herculean strength and of Bacchic softness, both harmoniously blended in the beautiful forms of an athletic youth ; strength and active energy, penetrated by passive pleasure, capable of delight in passion. Strength is plastically indicated in the powerful limbs, the full chest, the modelling of the well articulated muscles and sinews ; while the apparent relaxation and the soft rest of these powerful limbs and of the well-rounded chest, express the gentle element in this complex mood.

The soft layer beneath the epidermis unites, with its tranquil flow, the sinewy muscles that lie below it, into a gliding rhythm ; propitiates the ruptures

[15] Praxitelea capita, Cic. I. de Divinat. ii. 21, 48.

of lines, and intermediates each hiatus where each muscle and joint is knit on to the other. The smooth and vibrating surface covers all in lines of gentle yet potentially vigorous cadence, midway between the rippling rhythm of the epidermis of a Farnese Hercules, and the languid and almost effeminate swell of lines in the Lykian Apollo or the Antinous as Bacchus in the Vatican.

But all this is expressed not merely in the rhythm of the individual limbs and parts themselves, but in the *general rhythm* of the body, as well as in the *outline rhythm*.

In the relative position of the limbs to the central point of interest of the figure, strength is expressed though imbedded under apparent rest—it is latent. Michael Angelo's Moses in the San Paolo in Vinculo in Rome is seated in comparative rest, and his muscles are partially relaxed. And still we are necessarily impressed, while gazing upon this seated figure, with its latent power, which may at any moment become actual. The broad band round his powerful left shoulder in perfect repose, still gives us the idea of motion and resistance. He could rend it asunder, broad as it is, were his muscles to swell. Nay, we feel that the next moment he *will* rise from his apparent repose, and all his sinews will be in the most energetic tension, that he will grasp the tablet with his strong hands and shatter it to the ground, that his whole large frame will vibrate with passion. The eve of a great powerful moral outburst is embodied in the seeming rest and relaxation of this statue. So too we can feel that this Hermes, full of tenderness and glowing with a languid re-

laxation, can at any moment swing the *discus*, fling the spear, wrestle and struggle in the Pancration, softly skim over the course, or even fly over "the briny sea and the infinite earth with his beautiful ambrosian and golden pedila" as the messenger of Zeus. He can not only tenderly nurse the infant, but he has snatched it from the flames and he can protect it. On the other hand, the languor and tenderness of the figure is expressed in the forward bending head which in this position adds to the expression of dreamy abstractedness, and in the slight curve of the neck and shoulders, in the gentle uplifting of the right arm, and in the careful semi-suspension of the left, as well as in the wavy curve of the flank and the outward swell of the hip (as intelligibly a line of soft melancholy as any minor passage of low and gliding violoncello tones in music).

So much for the *general rhythm of the body*. In the *outline rhythm*, the flow of the simple lines of the outline, there is the same mixture and thorough harmony of soft rest and latent movement. And this is so whether, as Hirschfeld and Milchhoefer maintain, he held in his right uplifted hand a bunch of grapes to incite the appetite of his little ward, or, as Treu maintains, he held the thyrsos to indicate the nature of the infant. This staff would counteract the effect produced by the heavy drapery and the child on his left, which without a similar line on the right would be unsymmetrical in composition. With regard to the outline rhythm we are again midway between the restless, outward-driving lines of a Borghese gladiator, and the restful symmetry of outline in a Somnus, with his hands folded over his head.

With regard to the technique (in the restricted sense), I have already remarked the exquisiteness of the modelling. The surface and what is below it seems to vibrate under the gaze and touch of the spectator. The delicate play of light and shade over the ribs of the right side will assist in appreciating the quality of the modelling when we compare it with similar Roman works, in which each part seems put together, not to flow together. All this points to the expression of what we may term *texture in plastic art*, and here it appears to me that Praxiteles was decidedly an innovator.

Pheidias could readily indicate his texture by means of the various materials he used in one statue, as for instance, gold and ivory; but Praxiteles was the marble sculptor *par excellence*. Pliny (xxxiv. 69, xxxvi. 20) says of him, "Praxiteles was more happy in marble than in bronze, and therefore also more celebrated," and "he surpasses himself in marble." The strong feeling the Greeks had for indication of texture in plastic art manifests itself at first in their using different materials to express various textures. A later development of art leads them to use but one material; but then they call in polychromy[16] to assist them in accentuating various textures, until they gradually come to express this difference by the quality of the modelling. Now I am far from ignoring the exquisite distinction of texture in the nude, the light and the heavy drapery, in the pedimental figures of the Parthenon; but still I

[16] We meet with polychromy in the earliest times; but then it is especially in connexion with architecture, and the works almost invariably partake of a decorative character. The temple statues rarely were of marble, while the agonistic works were generally of bronze.

maintain that this distinction of texture is of a more marked character in the Hermes than in any earlier statue known to us. Though we know that the statues of Praxiteles were painted with great care, nay, that perhaps even as Brunn interprets the passage in Pliny (xxxv. 122), Praxiteles himself painted his own statues, still we know with what preference and how frequently he represented nude figures, in which the amount of painting could necessarily have been but very restricted. And, moreover, Lucian (Amor. 13, and Imag. 4) expressed his admiration of the manner in which texture is expressed in the fleshy parts of the Aphrodite of Cnidus. All this leads me to infer that polychromy reached the highest point of its development in Praxiteles, but that after the highest point immediately followed decline. And there can be no doubt in my mind, that the strongly marked accentuation of texture in marble independent of colour was already in formation in Praxiteles. In the Hermes we notice this especially in the treatment of the hair in its relation to the skin. It is very strange that those who first noticed the statue considered this treatment of the hair, roughly blocked out as it is, to be a mark of hasty work. But surely, it arises rather from a very keen sense of texture, and much and deep thought as to the manner of expressing it. Some painters, like Denner, thought that they could best represent hair in as nearly as possible indicating each single hair; but we know that painting in large masses, yet with a peculiar handling of the brush, is more likely to succeed in evoking the sense-perception of sight,

equivalent to that perception in touch. In plastic art, this is the introduction of a pictorial element, but it is not painting. Hirschfeld has remarked traces of colour on the lips and hair of our Hermes. I have not been able to discover them.[17] However this may be, the fact remains that there is a new style of rendering hair in this statue. The same applies to the drapery suspended from the left arm. I can recall but one antique statue in which the texture is similarly indicated in the drapery, namely, the Demeter of Cnidus, in the British Museum. The drapery of the Hermes is exceedingly realistic in the indication of texture, and corresponds exactly to the treatment of the hair.

Now, is the Hermes, as Benndorf maintains, really so different in work and character from the other statues which Archaeology has until now identified with Praxiteles? Decidedly not. To begin with the technique. It is objected that this treatment of the hair does not correspond with that of statues like the Apollo Sauroktonos and the Eros, called the "Genius of the Vatican," and so on. But the difference between the hair of the Hermes and the Eros is not much greater than between that of the Eros and the Sauroktonos; and, moreover, we must bear in mind that the other statues are copies, and probably Roman copies, while the Hermes is a Greek original. It is difficult to copy hair, especially such *seemingly* hasty work. I must lay especial stress on one fact, having in my mind a school of archaeologists

[17] In the recently discovered foot, the clearest traces of gilding have been found on the straps of the sandals. If colour has been so well preserved here, why should it be so doubtful elsewhere?

in Germany, who see the conventionally-archaic, imitations of the archaic, "*Archaisieren*," in many works that have, until now, been considered archaic. In copying a work of former times, the copyist almost invariably introduces modern elements, and he cannot help it. To see this we need but stroll through a gallery of old masters and compare the copies with the originals. We are more justified in opposing what we may call *modernisieren* to their *archaisieren*. For my own part I feel convinced that the hair of the original Genius of the Vatican was more similar in treatment to that of the Hermes than to that of the Sauroktonos.

But sufficient positive evidence can be brought forward to show that the type found in the Hermes is prevalent in the time of Praxiteles and is markedly different from the Lysippian type. We need but compare the head of the Hermes with heads on three coins[18] which Mr. Percy Gardner has kindly informed me all belong to the period of Philip of Macedon, *i.e.*, the age of Praxiteles. The first is the well-known gold stater of Philip of Macedon, with the idealised portrait of the monarch with laurel wreath. The second[19] is a silver coin of Phalanna in Thessaly, a drachma of Aeginetan standard, having on the obverse a young male head looking to the right (which Mr. Gardner believes may be Ares), and on the reverse, ΦΑ NN ΑΙΩΝ with a bridled horse trotting to the right. The third[20] is a copper coin of Medeon in Acarnania,

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bearing on the obverse, a young male head, and below ME. ; and, on the reverse, A within a wreath.

All three heads, though representing different personalities, are the same in style and in the artistic conception of the male type ; and all three again bear the most striking resemblance to the head of the Hermes. If we bear in mind that the one head belongs to a highly finished statue of over-life size, we shall find that the differences between the head of the Hermes and each of the coins is not greater than the difference of two coins from one another. But of the three, the second, the coin from Phalanna is most strikingly similar to the Hermes. The brow is more receding, it is true, but we notice the same elevations of the frontal bone, which we do not meet with *before* Praxiteles. The subtle execution of the eye in profile, astonishing in such small dimensions, is the same as in the Hermes, down to the delicate cavity at the angle where the frontal bone and the cheek bone meet. The indication of the soft texture of the cheek, the mouth, the chin, nay, even the peculiar block treatment of the hair, is strikingly similar in the two instances. It is impossible to mistake this head for a Lysippian head ; a comparison between the head of the Hermes and that of the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican will show the most manifest difference. It is instructive to compare two heads in the Glyptothek at Munich, in Brunn's Catalogue, No. 164 and No. 83, the former clearly of the Praxitelean type of the Hermes, the latter of the Lysippian type of the Apoxyomenos.[21]

[21] I subsequently find that Prof. Brunn has remarked the characteristics of these two heads.

But it is, we must confess, quite superfluous to attempt to *prove* the Praxitelean character of this statue. Hardly ever, in the history of archæology, has the sculptor and the denomination of a work been so conclusively shown by the circumstances of its discovery as in this case. Henceforth all the works which have previously been supposed to be Praxitelean will have to be compared with the Hermes, to prove their genuineness, and not *vice versâ*.

Moreover, the proportions of the body of the Hermes correspond exactly to what we should *à priori* have supposed them to be. The canon of Polykleitos was heavy and square, his statues were *quadrata signa*;[22] the canon of Lysippos was more slim, less fleshy: *capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quæ proceritas signorum major videretur.*[23] Now the historical position of Praxiteles lies between Polykleitos and Lysippos, and so the lithe squareness and square litheness of the Hermes represents the transition from the heaviness of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos to the slimness of the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos.

But the physical type of the Hermes is not merely a point of transition. It is true we do not hear of a Praxitelean canon; a fixed model of human proportions is incongruous with the personal and artistic character of Praxiteles, as will become evident to us further on; for such a nature is opposed to all "academical" fetters and is guided by the impressions flowing from each object it deals with. And

[22] Pliny, N.H. xxxiv. 56.
[23] Pliny, N.H. xxxiv. 65.

yet we may now assert that the Praxitelean type was prevalent in the age which we may roughly determine by Philip of Macedon, as becomes evident from the fact that, *e.g.*, the type of the Hermes head pervaded even the more mechanical art of coinage in the remote north of Greece (as in the coins mentioned above). But also the type of the whole figure with its proportions prevailed in that epoch; and this is shown, not only in the frequent modified replicas, such as the so-called Antinous of the Vatican, the Hermes of Andros at Athens, the Hermes in the Glyptothek at Munich, the Hermes from the Farnese collection in the British Museum, &c., &c.; but this type also recurs in statues, independent of the Hermes, and even in vase figures that in style belong to this epoch. It will be a task for archæologists in the future to study whole groups of ancient monuments, taking the Hermes as the starting point of comparison, as the criterion of Praxitelean work. I shall merely draw attention to three instances.

The famous Poniatowski[24] vase has on the face a representation of the Triptolemos myth, while the figures on the reverse exactly correspond to the Hermes type. In former days archæologists were very fond of giving mystical interpretations to simple illustrations from ancient life. They were especially fond of bringing every illustration into immediate connexion with the mysteries. So in

[24] First published by E. Q. Visconti, "Le pitture di un antico vaso fittile trovato nella Magna Grecia, appartenente al principe Stanislas Poniatowski," etc. "Millin's Description de Vases Antiques," Vol. 1, Pl. 32, etc.

this case Visconti, Fr. Creuzer[25] and Millin bring the youth, who, as they say, is standing in the doorway of a temple, into connexion with the Eleusinian mysteries, and describe the surrounding persons accordingly. The supposed temple, however, is nothing more than the pictorial rendering of a stone stele. The painter evidently was inspired by or copied a funereal slab which represented a young ephebe as an athlete whose favourite dog is endeavouring to attract his attention. This *motive* is very frequent in Greek funereal monuments. The Greeks were not fond of representing their deceased friends as dead, but recalled them as they were when alive, with a minimum of the dark spectre of death. Married men are represented in the act of being married, warriors, as taking leave or returning from battle, or in the act of fighting; women are pictured in the midst of their household, surrounded by their children, engrossed in their favourite occupations, etc. So in this case the sepulchral vase, which evidently came from the grave of a young man, was decorated on the face with a Triptolemos representation, while on the other side the youth himself is represented as he was: subjectively in the figure on the stele, a young man who excelled in the athletic games and was fond of hunting; objectively, in the relation in which the surrounding figures are brought to him; they show his social character, his amiability both for men and women. A maiden offers a wreath, another holds a mirror to reflect his charms, a youth also offers a victor-vase,

[25] "Abbildungen zur Symbolik und Mythologie," Taf. 14, Erklär. 76, p. 47.

the other is in the act of calling him to join him in the palaestra. It is a *genre* scene from the life of the deceased. That the youth is surrounded by the ornaments of a stele becomes a certainty from the resemblance and almost identity which obtains between this figure and a marble stele published by Stackelberg,[26] who points to this coincidence. According to Stackelberg it was found on the site of the battle of Leuktra (B.C. 371), and was deposited at Eremokastro, the ancient Thespiae. In this case the youth has no band round his head, and he holds a strigilis in his hand; the remainder is identical in both. In both these cases we have the Hermes type. Moreover, the head of a youth with a Phrygian cap on the neck of the vase, while strongly reminding us of the Hermes, also resembles the head of the Eros of Centocelli, commonly known as the Genius of the Vatican. The proportions of the body are neither Polykleitan nor Lysippian, but essentially those of the Hermes, while the graceful position of the head and the bend in the hip are the striking characteristics of the Praxitelean figures. Of the correspondence with regard to the moral as distinguished from the purely physical characteristics we shall treat hereafter.

Finally, we again meet with the same type in a stele at Athens.[27] It is again a *genre* representation, a boy playing with a bird, leaning against the stem of a tree while his chlamys lightly resting over his left shoulder hangs down by the tree.

[26] Die Graeber der Hellenen, Berlin, 1837, Taf. II, No. 2.

[27] Supplement to Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, Pl. 2, fig. 3. C. O. Müller, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, I Theil, Taf. XXIX, n. 127. Stackelberg, ibid., Taf. II, No. 4.

Again Stackelberg endeavours to bring the youth, as "Verehrer und Diener der Manen-Koenigin Persephone Phereplatta, der Taubentraegerin, oder Aphrodite Epithymbia, Libitina," into some mythological association, while in truth we have merely to deal with a scene from life. Not only does the head, do the physical proportions, exactly correspond to the Hermes, but the attitude is almost identical, nay the drapery with its treatment of folds and the way in which it is suspended from the tree, as well as the tree itself, are in both cases almost the same. The figures speak for themselves. Praxitelean influence becomes still more evident in this case when we remember that the slab comes from Athens, and that we know from Pausanias (I, 2, 3) that Praxiteles was the sculptor of a sepulchral monument in Athens representing a warrior next to his horse (*ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόῤῥω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθημα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα ὄντινα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν*); and that he also, according to Pliny (N.H. xxxvi. 20, opera eius sunt Athenis in ceramico), fashioned works in the Ceramicus, which were most likely sepulchral monuments.[28]

But what is most characteristic of the Hermes and of all these works is the sadly abstracted and reflective mood expressed in the figures, and the soft melancholy rhythm of the lines. The above-mentioned stele and the vase-figure as well the statues

[28] Brunn formerly (Künstler Geschichte I. p. 344), and Urlichs (Chrest. Plin., p. 380), brought these works into connexion with the group of Demeter, Persephone, and Iacchos, in the Temple of Demeter at Athens, mentioned by Paus. I. 2, 4; but there is no reason for this. Cf. Overbeck, Schriftquellen, 1282.

hitherto considered to be Praxitelean, as the Apollo Sauroktonos, the Genius of the Vatican, the Apollino of the Uffizi, and the Faun of the Capitol—all have in common with the Hermes, the languor in the rhythm of the outline, the same graceful position, the same wavy bend of the hip.

But the sadly-abstracted and reflective mood is expressed more definitely. One of the manifestations of the normal, healthy, and active frame of mind is, that our muscles, or the outward signs of attention, immediately react upon a stimulus received from without by our senses. If, for instance, we receive a tap on our left shoulder, our head and eyes and perhaps even the right arm will turn in that direction. But when we are reflective, wrapped in inward thought, as it were, this mood manifests itself in that we do not normally react in accordance with the stimulus received by our senses. We are insensible to any affection from without, because we are engrossed in the pictures of the inner mind's eye. But though this abstractedness, in so far as it means *insensibility* to the proceedings of the outer world, and in so far as it is a more than normal descent into thought, has an inherent element of sadness, and partakes in its outward manifestation of the languor of dreamland; still, it may spring from descent into *critical* thought, and then it does not essentially suggest sadness to us. But the plastic manifestation of these moods distinguishes between critical and vague dreamy abstractedness, in the relative expression of the eye. When we are critically abstracted, the eye, or rather the moveable surroundings of the eye, are compressed, while the

body and the head are fixed in one direction, insensible to outward disturbances; but in vague and dreamy abstraction, reverie, the eyes are wide open, and there is a fixed immobility of the rest of the body. Now the infant Dionysos on the left arm of the Hermes is evidently restless; he gazes up at his protector, and attempts to attract his attention by tugging at his shoulder. But the widely-open eyes of Hermes are not fixed upon the object which vigorously stimulates his senses; and the half-sad smile round his lips, which are not free from an indication of satiety, is not immediately caused by the infant, though it may be perhaps mediately, namely, by the inner thoughts which were originally suggested by the child. In the same way, on the Athenian stele, the head and the eyes of the youth are gracefully turned to his left, away from the bird restlessly flapping its wings on his right. And, finally, this contrast between the fresh and active and the sad and dreamy is apparent in the figure on the Poniatowski vase. His eyes are not turned upon his favourite dog, who is vainly attempting to attract his attention. The mouth is somewhat drooping with the over-fullness of sentiment.

This expression of countenance, together with the position and rhythm of the rest of the body, expresses with the greatest clearness the sad mood in all these works. It is a great confirmation for me to find that two modern English poets nave felt this to be the salient characteristic of one of the beforementioned statues, the Genius of the Vatican. The one[29] says :

[29] J. Addington Symonds, the "Genius of the Vatican," in "Many Moods."

Nathless, it grieves me that thy pensive mood
And downcast eyes and melancholy brow
Reveal such sorrow; nay I know not how
Stern sadness o'er thy beauty dares to brood.
And then I say: the sorrow is not thine,
But his who sculptured thee, weeping to think
That earthly suns to night's cold tide must sink,
And youth ere long in death's pale charnel pine.
Or wert thou some Marcellus shown by heaven
With presage of the tomb upon thine eyes,
Whom Jove, too envious of our clouded skies,
Snatched from the earth, to divine councils given,
And smoothed thy brow, and raised thy drooping head
And lapped thee in a soft Elysian bed?—"

And the other:[30]

O love, to me who love thee well,
Who fain would hear and mark,
The secret of thy sorrow tell,
And why thy brow is dark.

* * * * *

But thou hast caught a deeper care,
His smile is not for thee;
Thou canst not all so lightly wear
Thine immortality.

Or is it that thy spirit knew
Its solitary fate,
That whatsoe'er of beauty grew,
Thou might'st not find thy mate?

This element of melancholy, which slowly flowed out of the hands of Praxiteles into all his works, must have been the subjective element of Praxitelean art. To appreciate this we must endeavour to study the man who stood behind the artist, and the man

[30] Ernest Myers' Poems. The "Genius of the Vatican."

in Germany, who see the conventionally-archaic, imitations of the archaic, "*Archaisieren*," in many works that have, until now, been considered archaic. In copying a work of former times, the copyist almost invariably introduces modern elements, and he cannot help it. To see this we need but stroll through a gallery of old masters and compare the copies with the originals. We are more justified in opposing what we may call *modernisieren* to their *archaisieren*. For my own part I feel convinced that the hair of the original Genius of the Vatican was more similar in treatment to that of the Hermes than to that of the Sauroktonos.

But sufficient positive evidence can be brought forward to show that the type found in the Hermes is prevalent in the time of Praxiteles and is markedly different from the Lysippian type. We need but compare the head of the Hermes with heads on three coins[18] which Mr. Percy Gardner has kindly informed me all belong to the period of Philip of Macedon, *i.e.*, the age of Praxiteles. The first is the well-known gold stater of Philip of Macedon, with the idealised portrait of the monarch with laurel wreath. The second[19] is a silver coin of Phalanna in Thessaly, a drachma of Aeginetan standard, having on the obverse a young male head looking to the right (which Mr. Gardner believes may be Ares), and on the reverse, ΦA NN AIΩN with a bridled horse trotting to the right. The third[20] is a copper coin of Medeon in Acarnania,

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bearing on the obverse, a young male head, and below ME. ; and, on the reverse, A within a wreath.

All three heads, though representing different personalities, are the same in style and in the artistic conception of the male type ; and all three again bear the most striking resemblance to the head of the Hermes. If we bear in mind that the one head belongs to a highly finished statue of over-life size, we shall find that the differences between the head of the Hermes and each of the coins is not greater than the difference of two coins from one another. But of the three, the second, the coin from Phalanna is most strikingly similar to the Hermes. The brow is more receding, it is true, but we notice the same elevations of the frontal bone, which we do not meet with *before* Praxiteles. The subtle execution of the eye in profile, astonishing in such small dimensions, is the same as in the Hermes, down to the delicate cavity at the angle where the frontal bone and the cheek bone meet. The indication of the soft texture of the cheek, the mouth, the chin, nay, even the peculiar block treatment of the hair, is strikingly similar in the two instances. It is impossible to mistake this head for a Lysippian head ; a comparison between the head of the Hermes and that of the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican will show the most manifest difference. It is instructive to compare two heads in the Glyptothek at Munich, in Brunn's Catalogue, No. 164 and No. 83, the former clearly of the Praxitelean type of the Hermes, the latter of the Lysippian type of the Apoxyomenos.[21]

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bearing on the obverse, a young male head, and below ME. ; and, on the reverse, A within a wreath.

All three heads, though representing different personalities, are the same in style and in the artistic conception of the male type ; and all three again bear the most striking resemblance to the head of the Hermes. If we bear in mind that the one head belongs to a highly finished statue of over-life size, we shall find that the differences between the head of the Hermes and each of the coins is not greater than the difference of two coins from one another. But of the three, the second, the coin from Phalanna is most strikingly similar to the Hermes. The brow is more receding, it is true, but we notice the same elevations of the frontal bone, which we do not meet with *before* Praxiteles. The subtle execution of the eye in profile, astonishing in such small dimensions, is the same as in the Hermes, down to the delicate cavity at the angle where the frontal bone and the cheek bone meet. The indication of the soft texture of the cheek, the mouth, the chin, nay, even the peculiar block treatment of the hair, is strikingly similar in the two instances. It is impossible to mistake this head for a Lysippian head ; a comparison between the head of the Hermes and that of the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican will show the most manifest difference. It is instructive to compare two heads in the Glyptothek at Munich, in Brunn's Catalogue, No. 164 and No. 83, the former clearly of the Praxitelean type of the Hermes, the latter of the Lysippian type of the Apoxyomenos.[21]

[21] I subsequently find that Prof. Brunn has remarked the characteristics of these two heads.

in Germany, who see the conventionally-archaic, imitations of the archaic, "*Archaisieren*," in many works that have, until now, been considered archaic. In copying a work of former times, the copyist almost invariably introduces modern elements, and he cannot help it. To see this we need but stroll through a gallery of old masters and compare the copies with the originals. We are more justified in opposing what we may call *modernisieren* to their *archaisieren*. For my own part I feel convinced that the hair of the original Genius of the Vatican was more similar in treatment to that of the Hermes than to that of the Sauroktonos.

But sufficient positive evidence can be brought forward to show that the type found in the Hermes is prevalent in the time of Praxiteles and is markedly different from the Lysippian type. We need but compare the head of the Hermes with heads on three coins[18] which Mr. Percy Gardner has kindly informed me all belong to the period of Philip of Macedon, *i.e.*, the age of Praxiteles. The first is the well-known gold stater of Philip of Macedon, with the idealised portrait of the monarch with laurel wreath. The second[19] is a silver coin of Phalanna in Thessaly, a drachma of Aeginetan standard, having on the obverse a young male head looking to the right (which Mr. Gardner believes may be Ares), and on the reverse, ΦΑ ΝΝ ΑΙΩΝ with a bridled horse trotting to the right. The third[20] is a copper coin of Medeon in Acarnania,

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1879–80	RECEIPTS.						DISBURSEMENTS.						1879–80
				£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers			.. ..	289	5	9	Rent, less Property Tax		391	13	4		
Her Majesty the Queen, Donation			.. ..	100	0	0	Parish Rates		55	13	4		
Subscriptions			.. ..	295	4	5	Taxes		32	10	0	491	6 8
Rents :—	£	s.	d				Water Rate		10	10	0		
Anthropological Institute ..	130	0	0				Insurance		1	0	0		
Friends of the Clergy (three quarters)	78	15	0				Salaries, Secretary		100	0	0		
Numismatic Society	20	0	0	252	18	0	Clerk		70	10	0	185	17 0
London and Middlesex Society	7	7	0				Hall Porter		14	12	0		
Inventors' Institute	10	10	0				Licence for do.		0	15	0		
United Service College ..	6	6	0					sers.					
Donation by hands of the Secretary	..		..	105	0	0		..	80	9	0		
Sale of Milton's "Commonplace Book"	2	2	0					..	15	6	0	97	0 0
Sale of "Ada de Usk"	1	10	0	6	15	10		..	1	5	0		
„ Transactions	3	3	10					Soc.	1	0	0		
Dividends :—								..	2	2	0		
On $9,500 United States 5 per cents.	121	0	0					..	0	15	2	3	17 2
„ £169 10s. Consols. 3 per cents.	4	19	4					..	5	3	0		
„ £534 12s. New 3 per cents.	15	14	0				Stationers' Bills		9	8	1		
„ Canada 4 per cent. Stock Warrants	83	0	2	330	12	0	Messrs. Davy, Cards, &c. ..		2	15	0	17	6 1
„ £175 India 4 per cents. ..	6	17	2				Postage, Stamps, and Parcels ..		..		..	11	9 10
„ £2,023 10s. Midland Railway Stock Warrants	99	1	4				Tradesmen's Bills		8	7	11		
							Coals		13	9	0	31	13 7
							Gas		9	16	8		
							General Expenditure :—						
							Household Expenses		45	13	3		
							Charwomen (for cleaning and refreshments)		8	13	10	54	7 1
							Balance at Bankers'					486	13 7
				£1,379	16	0						£1,379	16 0

Audited and found correct, leaving a Balance in the Treasurer's hands of £486 13s. 7d.

HENRY WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY.

26th April, 1880.

The Council have further to report that Donations to the Library have been received from— Donations.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

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C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

S. MUNGOONEY MENON. Esq.

WALTER WELLSMAN, Esq.

SAMUEL DAVEY, Esq.

The Council have, also, received, by the hands of the Rev. C. B. Pearson, a collection of books, belonging to the late Dr. Burgess, Bishop of Salisbury, the Founder of the Society, which are of interest, as those used by him when a boy, in Winchester College.

[Papers.] The following papers have been read before the Society :—

I. *On what is Poetry?* By G. Washington Moon, Esq. Read April 23rd, 1879.

II. *On the authorship of Shakespeare's Plays.* By Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, Q.C., V.P. Read May 21st, 1879.

III. *On the Paris Literary Congress of* 1878 *and the International Literary Association.* By C. H. E. Carmichael, Esq. Read June 25th, 1879.

IV. *On some aspects of Zeus and Apollo Worship.* By C. F. Keary, Esq. Read November 26th, 1879.

V. *On the group of Hermes and Dionysos by Praxiteles, recently discovered at Olympia.* By C. Waldstein, Phil.D. Read December 17th, 1879.

VI. *On the Spelling Reform Deadlock.* By C. M. Ingleby, Esq., LL.D., V.P. Read January 28th, 1880.

VII. *On recent Explorations in Rome.* By Robert N. Cust, Esq. Read February 25th, 1880.

VIII. *On a Theory of the chief Human Races of Europe and Asia.* By J. W. Redhouse, Esq. Hon. Memb. R.S.L. Read March 17th, 1880.

On November 26th, 1879, a Committee was appointed, on the proposal of Mr. Holt, "To examine into the state of the Society's finances, and to report the same to the Council at their next meeting;" Mr. Moon, Mr. Holt, and Mr. Vaux to be members of this Committee. And, on December 10th, 1879, the Committee

so appointed, laid before the Council their Report, which has been duly entered *verbatim* in the Minutes of the Council. The Committee also laid before the Council a separate Report, drawn up by their Secretary, containing suggestions for the future management of the Society, with especial reference to the expenditure for Household purposes.

On January 14th, 1880, Mr. Holt proposed the appointment of a Committee (to consist of Mr. Holt, Mr. Moon, Dr. Knighton, and Mr. Ford, with Mr. Vaux, *ex officio*, as Secretary), for the purpose of considering the best means of carrying out the objects of the Society.

This Committee has met on January 21st, February 11th, March 10th, and April 14th, when the following resolutions were agreed to :—

1. That the Entrance Fees and Compositions be, in future, carried to Capital Account.

2. That Sub-Committees of Finance and Papers be appointed, the former to consist of three, and the latter of five Members.

Many other motions and suggestions were made at the different meetings, but were not accepted by the Council who met on April 14th, for a final consideration of all the proposals which had been made.

ADDRESS

OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE LEOPOLD, K.G., K.T.,

PRESIDENT,

TO THE SOCIETY.

Wednesday, April 28th, 1880.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In obedience to the usual custom of this Society, I have now the pleasure of addressing to you a few words on this our Anniversary Meeting.

And, in doing so, I have great satisfaction in congratulating the Society on its continued prosperity, as evinced by the number of new names, which have been added to it during the last year, to fill the place of such losses we may have sustained by death; while, at the

same time, I have not to record the resignation of a single Member.

Our loss, by death, of our ordinary Members has been two, and of our Honorary Members one; we have also lost one Honorary Foreign Member. On the other hand, we have elected eleven new Members.

The Society has, therefore, nine more subscribing Members than it had at our last Meeting.

On the biography of two of these gentlemen it is now my duty to say a few words.

Sir William Erle, formerly Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, died recently, after a few days' illness, at his residence, Bramshott, near Liphook, Hampshire; and considering how many years have elapsed since his retirement from the Chief Justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas, which he filled with so much credit and honour, it is interesting that we have not, ere this, had to record his death. Having long outlived his successor, Sir William Bovill, Sir W. Erle has passed away, at the age of 87, his longevity being fairly comparable with those of Lord Brougham, Lord Lyndhurst, and Lord St. Leonards. Sir

William Erle was born in the year 1793, and was the third son of the late Rev. Christopher Erle, of Gillingham, Dorsetshire, his mother Margaret, daughter of Mr. Thomas Bowles, of Shaftesbury, being a near relative of the well-known writer, the Rev. William Lisle Bowles. He was educated at Winchester College, from which he passed to a Fellowship at New College, Oxford, where he graduated in due course. The members of that College having, then, the privilege of taking their degree without undergoing a public examination, his name does not appear in the ordinary "Honour Lists." He took his degree of Bachelor of Civil Law in 1818, and, in the following year, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, and joined the Western Circuit, in which he rose to distinction, though not so rapidly as Sir Alexander Cockburn and one or two more of its "leaders."

Sir William Erle obtained the honour of a silk gown from Lord Brougham in 1834, and, at the general election of 1837, found his way into the House of Commons, as one of the members for the City of Oxford, having succeeded, after a severe contest, to the seat previously held by Mr. Hughes-Hughes. He did not, however, hold the seat for Oxford beyond one Parliament, as in 1841 he

declined to seek re-election. In 1845 he was promoted —not, however, by his own party, but by Lord Lyndhurst—to a Puisne Judgeship of the Court of Common Pleas, in the place of Mr. Justice Maule. In the following year he was transferred to the Court of Queen's Bench, in which he held a seat down to 1859, when the promotion of Sir Alexander Cockburn placed at the disposal of the Ministry the Chief Justiceship of the Court of which he had previously been a member. In both Courts he gained the reputation not only of an accurate, painstaking, upright, and conscientious, but also of a "strong" Judge: and it need hardly be added that he was widely and deservedly respected on the Bench as well as by the Bar. Sir William Erle held this exalted post, discharging his duties with an integrity and conscientiousness which could not be surpassed, and when he resigned his seat on the Bench, owing to the pressure of advancing years, in 1866, he was greeted with all possible acknowledgments of personal attachment from all the members of the Court over which he had presided for seven years. Since his retirement from public life Sir William Erle has lived the life of a country gentleman on his estate near Haslemere. Here he was always foremost in every good and charitable work, sub-

scribing largely to the erection of churches, schools, and parsonages. Though not a sportsman, he was fond of his horses and dogs, as well as of his tenantry, among whom his genial presence and kindly smile were always a welcome sight. He was fond also of society, but shone nowhere more brightly than in his own family circle. Sir William Erle received the honour of knighthood on his elevation to the Bench, and on his retirement it is believed that an hereditary title—a baronetcy, if not a peerage—awaited him, if he had cared for such an honour. He was sworn a Privy Councillor in 1859. Sir William married, in 1834, Amelia, daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Williams, for many years Head Master of Winchester School, and subsequently Warden of New College, Oxford.

Andreas David Mordtmann, who was an Honorary Foreign Member of this Society, was born at Hamburg, on February 11th, 1811, and received his first education at the Seminary of St. Paul's Church, whence he passed to the Hamburg Grammar School, called the Johanneum, which he quitted in 1829, with a view of proceeding to Vienna, in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of Turkish, in the first place, but afterwards of other

Oriental languages. This intention, however, he had to relinquish for want of means; indeed, for a long time, he had to earn his bread by giving instruction.

In his desire, however, to obtain a sound knowledge of Eastern languages, he was supported by the great diplomatist Dr. Syndreas Sieveking, who secured for him the appointment as a Sub-Librarian to the Hamburg Municipal Library, a post he held from 1841 to 1845. In 1836 he married Christina Brandmann. On November 6th, 1845, the Philological Faculty of Kiel conferred upon him the degree of M.A. and Phil. Dr., and, in the same year, he was sent as the Hanseatic Keeper of Archives (or as Clerk of their Chancery) to Constantinople, under the Spanish Minister, Don Antonio Lopez de Cordoba, then in the provisional charge of the Hanseatic Legation, having been entrusted with this duty by Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, when he resigned that appointment.

From the end of 1847 to 1859, he was Chargé d'Affaires to the Hanse Towns at the Sublime Porte. Since August, 1851, he was also Consul at Constantinople for the Grand-Duke of Oldenburg.

On the Legation being suppressed by the Hanse

Towns in 1859, Dr. Mordtmann passed over into the Turkish Service, as a Judge of the Commercial Court, a position he continued to hold, while, at the same time, never omitting to prosecute, also, his one great object of obtaining and enlarging to the utmost his Oriental knowledge. Dr. Mordtmann was, from his earliest youth, an enthusiast in all matters appertaining to Oriental knowledge or to that of Eastern affairs.

Hence, while he wrote or edited several independent works, he was also an energetic contributor to the pages of the "Journal of the German Oriental Society," his especial study having been the coins of the Sassanian Rulers of Persia, with that also of other numismatic records, bearing upon this main subject.

Of the *separate* works he published may be mentioned: —(1) A short description of Magrib el Aksa; or the Morocco States (from a geographical, statistical, and political point of view), Hamburg, 1844, with map. (2) Das Buch der Länder von Shech Ibn Ishak el Farsi el Isztachri, a translation from the Arabic, with Preface by the illustrious Carl Ritter, Hamb., 4to, 1845; the same work, indeed, the text of which had been printed at Gotha in 1839 by J. H. Moeller. (3) A History of the Conquest of Mesopotamia and Armenia, translated from

the Arabic of Muhammad ben Omar-al-Makadi, accompanied by observations by A. D. L. G. Niebuhr, with additions and explanatory remarks; Hamburg, 1847, 8vo. (4) Descriptions of the coins with Pehlevi Inscriptions (reprinted from the "Journal of the German Oriental Society"); Leipzig, 1853–8. (5) Siege and Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453; Stuttgard and Augsburg, 1858; this essay was translated into Greek. (6) The Amazons; Hanover, 1862–8.

The following is a list of the papers he contributed to the "Journal of the German Oriental Society," and, besides these, it is likely there are others, in other periodicals, the whereabouts of which is not known, or easily obtainable:—"Transactions of the German Oriental Society," vol. ii. Letters from Mordtmann to Olshausen in 1847, on Sassanian Coins, pp. 108, 116; Nachrichten über Taberistan aus dem geschictswerke Taberi's, pp. 284–314. Vol. iii, Letter Ueber das Studium des Turkischer, pp. 351–358. Vol. iv, Do. to Olshausen, Ueber Sassanidische Münzen, pp. 83–96; Do., Ueber Pehlewi-münzen, pp. 505–509. Vol. vi, Do. on a New Turkish Grammar, pp. 409–410. Vol. viii, Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlvi-Legenden, pp. 1–208, 1854. Vol ix, Ueber die ausdruck في حدود سنه, pp. 823–830;

Zu der Münze des Chalifen Katari, v. Band. viii, p. 842, a paper by Olshausen. Vol. xi, pp. 157–8, Five Inscriptions from Tombstones. Vol. xii, Erklärung der Munzen mit Pehlevi-Legenden, pp. 1–56. Vol. xiii, Letter to Brockhaus on Cuneiform Inscriptions from Van, pp. 704–5. Vol. xiv, Do. to Brockhaus, on Cuneiform Inscriptions, pp. 555–6. Vol. xvi, Erklärung der Kiel-Inschriften, zweiter Gattung, pp. 1–126 (1862). Vol. xviii, Studien über geschnittene Steine mit Pehlevi-Inschriften, pp. 1–52. Vol. xix, Erklärung der munzen mit Pehlevi-Legenden zweiter Nachtrag, pp. 373–496 Vol. xxiv, 1870, Ueber die Keil Inschriften zweiter Gattung (cf. Band. xvi, zweiter Artikal), 2pl. pp. 1–84. Vol. xxvi, Entzifferung und erklärung der Armenischen Keil Inschriften von Van und der Umgebund, pp. 465–696. Vol. xxix, Dousares bei Epiphanius, pp. 99–106; Sassanidische Gemmen, pp. 199–211. Vol. xxx, Die Dynastie der Danischmende, pp. 467–487. Vol. xxxi, Ueber die Keil-Inschriften der Armenien, pp. 486–489; Studien über geschnittene Steine mit Pehlevi-Legenden, zweiter Nachtrag, pp. 582–597 and pp. 767–8. Vol. xxxii, Ueber die endung *kart, kert, gird* in Städte-namen, pp. 724. Vol. xxxiii, Zur Pehlevi Münzkunde, Die ältesten Muhammedanischen Munzen, pp. 82–143.

The last published portion of the Trans. Germ. Orient. Soc. (xxxiv, 1) contains a long and very important paper by him on his favourite subject—Zur Pehlevi Münzkunde—iv, Die munzen der Sassaniden, pp. 1-162, which has been printed since his death on December 30th, 1879.

During the past year, several excellent papers have been read before Meetings of the Society. To these, according to the usual custom, I shall now briefly refer.

To our Vice-President, Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, we are indebted for a paper "On the authorship of Shakespeare's Plays," in which he contended that the accepted accounts of Shakespeare's literary education shows it to have been of the most defective character, and such, indeed, as would not lead any one to suppose that he could have been the author of dramas which imply a wide range of miscellaneous learning and no inconsiderable knowledge of classical antiquity.

It is, also, certain that he was on terms of intimate friendship with many men of distinguished literary attainments, some of them being themselves no mean poets, such as Green and Peele; the latter of whom was

for some years associated with him in the management of the theatre in Blackfriars. Sir Patrick thought it more likely that the plays usually attributed to Shakespeare alone, were due to them, and to others of his contemporaries.

Our Vice-President, Dr. Ingleby, gave us a paper "On English Spelling Reform and the Present Deadlock," in which he recounted the attempts which had been made to impose a phonetic system of spelling on our literature, and, failing that, to introduce it into our elementary schools. The friends of phonetics attacked the stronghold of conventional spelling, when, on January 12th, 1878, they had an audience with the President and Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, and asked for a Royal Commission to investigate the whole subject of spelling, with the view to the introduction of a reformed spelling into the schools connected with that Department.

Dr. Ingleby considered, that, on this occasion, the speakers in arguing their case evinced too much assertion and vehemence, as if they had reckoned on storming the official mind, too well used to the resource of "masterly inactivity." In the result, the deadlock

already existing was confirmed. Having stated what he thought the proper grounds of action at this crisis, Dr. Ingleby went on to discuss the relations between the rival claims of spelling and pronunciation, and classified the leading writers on Spelling Reform, according as they gave the preference to one or the other,—himself siding with those who would insist on a right and a wrong in pronunciation, which it is within the power of spelling to encourage or to check. "We are thus led," he remarked, "to two great questions: (1) What orthoepy shall be favoured? and (2) What orthography shall be adopted? To meet educational wants, the former must have the precedence; for, if it be impracticable to determine a standard of pronunciation, it is useless to propose the means for accurately expressing it." He then noticed the various published systems of spelling reform, taking special objection to Mr. A. J. Ellis's "Glossic," partly on account of the pronunciation it favoured, but mostly on account of its general use of Digraphs. "I have no sympathy," said Dr. Ingleby, "with reformers who would have us acquiesce in the degeneracy of speech, and who would use phonetics to help on the course of phonetic decay. Let us make our gauge too small rather than too large; let us catch what we can of these minor delinquencies, and let the *litera scripta* remain to

bear witness against them. After all that orthography can do, as the handmaid of orthoepy, enough will escape the meshes to prove the life of this Proteus, and phonetic forms will sooner or later be left in the lurch or leave us there."

Mr. C. F. Keary, of the British Museum, contributed a paper "On some aspects of Zeus and Apollo worship," in which he pointed out that the aspects under which these two divinities were to be especially regarded, were as Nature gods, in a form of worship that belonged rather to the pre-historic than to the historic ages of Greek life.

The individuality of any god sprang, the writer maintained, not from the exercise of fancy, such as might give their characters to the personages of a drama, but from genuine experience. This experience was of the forces or appearances of Nature, with which were originally identified the divinities of every form of Polytheism.

The change from the worship of phenomena to anthropomorphism arose mainly from the transfer of power from a fixed phenomenon to one that was more

arbitrary. This transfer, which was realised in the case of the Indian and German races, by an exchange of the Proto-Aryan *Dyaus* for *Indra* or *Wustan*, was partly felt, also, in the change of the character of Zeus.

Mr. Keary then examined at considerable length the various modifications which had taken place in the characters of Zeus and Apollo, before they appeared in the guise in which they were known to historic Greece.

To Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael we owe a paper "On the Paris Library Congress of 1878 and the International Literary Association"; in it he briefly analysed the principal questions discussed at the Congress convened last year by the agency of the Société des Gens de Lettres. Mr. Carmichael then described at some length the work of the First Section of the Paris Congress, which was the one mainly concerned with Library Copyright, and after giving some extracts from the address of M. Victor Hugo, at the public meeting held in the Châtelet Theatre, passed on to the foundation of the International Literary Association at the General Meeting of the Congress, June 28th, 1878. The constitution of the

Association was next discussed, and the objects at which it professed to aim were stated, as set forth in the published Bulletins, copies of which, as well as of the official *résumé* of the Paris Congress, were laid on the Table of the Society. Mr. Carmichael, in conclusion, expressed his hope that the future work of the Association would be carried out on the broad spirit of Victor Hugo's addresses.

To Mr. Robert N. Cust we owe a paper, "On late excavations in Rome," in which he gave a very interesting account of the recent researches in that City, which had been mainly due to the energy and zeal of the Emperor Napoleon III, of Mr. J. H. Parker, and of the present Italian Government. In the course of a rapid but clear survey, Mr. Cust dealt especially with the five particular portions of the area of Rome which have been the scene of the most successful explorations, viz.: (1) The Palatine Hill—the site of the House of Augustus and of the Palaces of Tiberius and of the later Emperors; (2) The Forum; (3) The Baths of Titus and the Colosseum; (4) The Baths of Caracalla; (5) The Banks of the Tiber within the City. The paper was illustrated by maps kindly lent for the purpose by Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., and by Mr. John Murray.

Dr. Waldstein of Berlin, has contributed a paper "On the group of Hermes and Dionysos by Praxiteles recently discovered in the Heraion at Olympia," the existence of which at this place had been noted by Pausanias (v, 17, 3), and stated by him to have been the work of that celebrated sculptor.

In this paper, Dr. Waldstein pointed out that some doubt has been cast on this assertion by certain recent German writers, who were inclined to attribute this work to a grandson of Praxiteles, who bore the same name. Dr. Waldstein, however, showed by a minute criticism of the sculpture, a cast of the upper portion of which was on the table, that there was really little ground for this theory, as the artistic character of the Hermes harmonises perfectly with that of all the monuments which have been hitherto associated with the name of the elder Praxiteles, who is believed to have been greatly influenced by Lysippus in the canon of human proportion he constructed.

Between the *figuræ quadratæ* of Polycletus and the slim graceful forms of Lysippus, Dr. Waldstein urged that the sculptures of Praxiteles presented the natural transition. But the Hermes is really more than a point

of transition in the development of Greek sculpture; it is a type by itself, as is clearly shown by the numerous *replicas* we have of it.

Dr. Waldstein then discussed the sad and pensive element of Praxitelian art, and accounted for this both physiologically and in the sculptor himself, and, historically, from the times in which he lived, concluding his paper with a comparison of the age and works of Pheidias as contrasted with those of Praxiteles.

To our Honorary Member, J. W. Redhouse, Esq., we are indebted for a paper, "On a Theory of the Chief Human Races of Europe and Asia," in which he combated the usually-received views of the spread of the Aryan tribes north-west into Europe, and south-east into India, from the High Plateau of Pamir in Central Asia. He based the theory he advanced, viz., that they really came from the north-west Polar regions, on the consideration of the map, and the geology of the Old World of Europe, Asia, and Africa, guided by such fragmentary traditions of sudden upheavals and subsidences as have been more or less correctly preserved and handed down to us, and which seem to show the probability that this portion of the earth's surface may,

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first. Few, perhaps, but have deserved some part of that treatment at first; yet, though that be granted, there is no more weight in the sarcasms directed against comparative mythologists, than in those which have been turned against any other form of scientific study. We may be ready to laugh at and applaud some well directed thrusts; but it would be the extremity of folly to construe ridicule of this kind into a serious argument against the usefulness of the research.

§ I.—*Myths of Death and of the other World.*

I suppose no one who was familiar with the literature of other mythologies would be disposed to see on the Eddaic literature the stamp of a great antiquity. This question has nothing to do with the actual date at which were collected the poems that have come down to us. I do not mean that because Sæmund Sigfusson, who first committed the Eddaic poems to writing, lived in the eleventh century,[3] that the Edda itself might not bear a really primitive character. It is not that these sources are late in actual time, but that they are late measured by the condition of the belief of which they are the exponents. Creeds, like geological strata, are to be classified by their formations, not by their actual distance from our *surface* in time or space; wherefore, when I say that the Edda is not antique or primitive in form, I take my measurements altogether on this comparative basis; I mean that placed beside other great sources of our knowledge of men's belief, beside the Vedic

[3] Born, 1056; died, 1133.

hymns of India, or the Epic poems of Greece, the poems of the Edda are very obviously in a condition of decline. To admit thus much, I am well aware, goes almost no way towards satisfying the requirements of Professor Sophus Bugge, whose theories admit of no compromise of this kind. Yet I think it is best to begin with these admissions, because other students of Norse mythic lore have given way to rather exaggerated language in praise of their peculiar field of research. It is not uncommon to see writers speaking of the moral elevation and the great poetic merits of the Norse creed.[4] Taking the Eddas as a whole, we must confess it requires no small amount of imagination, and a wide and charitable method of interpretation, to see either high moral elevation or great poetic faculty in them. As a whole, they are notable chiefly for their triviality and love of unessential details. Nothing, or almost nothing of teaching is visible there. A very large number of the forms of the elder Edda are mere catalogues of names. Some slight prefatory excuse—such as the contest in knowledge between a god and a jötun (giant)—is all that they require, and then a number of questions are asked and answered about all things in heaven, on earth, and under the earth. Perhaps the things mentioned have different names among different orders of beings, among gods, among men, among elves, and among giants: then all these names have to be repeated. The lay of Vafthrudnir and the lay

[4] Professor Stephen, of Copenhagen, is reported (but this is only in an untrustworthy abridgement of his lectures on the Eddaic Mythology) as claiming for our ancestors the credit of having worked out a religious system in many ways so like Christianity.

of Alvîs (Vafþrûðnismâl and Alvîssmâl) are the conspicuous examples of this kind of form; but the same thing occurs in many others. Another series of lays deal in magic and incantations and wise sayings; which were of importance once, but have lost all their meaning for us; such are the Grôugaldr (incantation of Grôa) and the long Hâvamâl, the High One's lay, extending, with the Rune-song of Odhinn, which it includes, to one hundred and sixty-five verses. The lay of Hyndla is almost entirely devoted to genealogy; the Northern poets generally delight in genealogies. To turn to those Eddaic poems which have more of a story in them, few would be able to discover much beauty or sense in the Harbardsliôð, which is an altercation between Thorr and a ferryman called Harbard, believed to be another name for Odhinn, or in the Lokasenna, the altercation between Loki and the other gods. It is not that the German beliefs were trifling in their whole character, or devoid of deep meaning and earnestness, but that this serious side has been half lost and half obscured in poems which show a branch of the Teutonic creed only, and that in its decay.

But it is the business of the palæontologist, from the examination of a few small bones, to reconstruct a lost prehistoric beast, and of the mythologist it is the business to gather of the fragments which remain from a dead creed enough to build again the belief in its pristine form, and in its early grandeur. The longer we dwell with the Norse poet, and the more familiar we grow with his thoughts, the more easy becomes this reconstructive process; and the reward of our labour grows in proportion to

its extent. If, then, I have not enticed the student with too high promises, it is only because there was the greater fear lest he should turn away in disgust when the intellectual fare placed before him was so far from realising his expectations. If he did so turn it would be to his loss. There *are* veins of high or the highest imaginative creation in the Eddas; veins which could have been produced only in the molten formation days of a warm and genuine belief. We see them crystallized and cold, but the ore is still of the purest. Moreover we have in the interpretation of Teutonic mythology an immense advantage, which is lacking from the study of ancient classic myths, in the fact that the former has been handed down in a tradition, never quite broken though, from heathen times to our own days. The tales of the Eddas have reappeared in form, disguised indeed but still recognisable, all through the middle ages: they are still told in our nurseries: many of the beliefs of heathenism half live in our popular lore and popular customs. We have these materials to help us in rebuilding our temple of Eddaic mythology.

As regards the sources of our knowledge the first which we must examine in this enquiry is the elder or poetic Edda. The younger Edda (Edda Snorra) cannot fairly be called in evidence for any fact which the elder Edda does not avouch or hint at; because this younger Edda, as is probable, was compiled fifty or sixty years after the elder Edda was published, and being in prose and bearing about it all the marks of elaborated *composition*, it is without even such titles of antiquity as are possessed by the

fragmentary poems of the elder Edda. It is on the Edda of Sæmund that our temple of Norse religion must be built; and it is by attacks upon that foundation only that it can be undermined. Let us then examine these poems for a moment. They first divide themselves into two parts, the first relating to the gods, the second relating to the heroes, the *Götter-und Helden Sagen*, respectively, of Professor Bugge's title-page. The first part is the more important, and I will speak of that first. The poems that have been preserved to us are a poor collection, and when we have examined them, the collection is found in some respects rather to diminish than increase in value, for several of the poems harp upon the same idea, and seem to repeat various readings from one legend. Others, again, are so obscure that they may be dismissed almost altogether from the field of our researches.

For the purposes of our enquiry I should be inclined to group together the Vegtamskviða, the Fiölsvinnssmâl, and the Grôugaldr: and with these the För Skirnis, whose connection with the other three will presently be further explained. The Þrymskviða, the Alvîssmâl, and the Hymiskviða should be read together, as they record Thorr's contests with the Thursar race; and with these two we may place the Harbardslioð: for I think Harbard, though he was afterwards confounded with Odhinn, must have been originally a giant. The Völuspâ stands alone: so do the Rigsmâl and the Lokasenna. The Hindluiöð is made clearer by being compared with the Grôugaldr. The Hrafnagaldr Oðins, the Havamâl, and the Solarliöð are so obscure as to be of hardly any use to us.

It is obvious that what will really be of importance in proving the genuine character of the Eddaic mythology, will be the undesigned coincidences between its teaching, between the *picture* which it draws for us of the world, and of the doings of gods and men, and what we learn incidentally from other sources, to have been the doctrine of the German races upon such subjects. We will begin, then, by trying to gain some general notion of the Eddaic teaching on certain important matters. The group of myths which I will first consider are those which have some relation to death and to the future of the soul. The myths of this kind form by no means an inconsiderable part of the Eddaic mythology; I am not sure whether in all their aspects and ramifications they do not constitute the greater part of it. They are, as I hope to be able to show, very peculiar and characteristic, and generally peculiarly and characteristically Teuton. When, therefore, we have settled their claims, and taken from them the spurious elements which they may contain, we shall possess some sort of criterion with which to judge the other myths, a more miscellaneous assortment, which with these make up the *corpus* of the Eddaic creed.

Jörmungandr

I had the honour two years or more ago to read before this Society a paper which was concerned with some of the beliefs touching a future state which are found common to the Indo-European races. It was called the 'Earthly Paradise of European Mythology,' and the special set of myths with which

it dealt were those which told of the future of the soul after death, and represented that future as beginning with a journey undertaken across the western sea to some western paradise. Enough was then said to show that there are certain beliefs concerning the future of the soul which are apparently the common property of the human race, and belong exclusively to no single people; but that these beliefs, without being abandoned, gradually modify themselves to suit the experiences of each race, and thus take what we may call a local colouring. Among the universal beliefs two stand in direct contrast; the one fancies the soul descending through the mouth of the tomb to an underground kingdom; the other imagines the soul taking a journey (generally to the west and with the sun) after death. This second belief is the one especially liable to mutation, because the idea of the soul's journey and of the situation of the paradise to which the soul goes, must be affected by the geographical position of those who hold it. This belief modifies, too, necessarily from age to age, for it depends not only on the position but on the knowledge of mankind. As men's acquaintance with the world about them grows wider, their myths have to comply with this wider experience.

Here, then, we have at once offered us a good test for trying the genuine character of some of the Eddaic myths. If the picture of the Sea of Death, that is to say, the sea which surrounds the world of the living, and which souls must cross to get to paradise, if the Eddaic picture of this sea is such as could not have sprung up spontaneously out of the

Norseman's experience of the world, then we shall have good reason for suspecting that this part, at any rate, of his mythology has been borrowed from foreign sources; whereas, if all the Norse mythology of the Sea of Death and of the Land of Souls is consistent with Norse, or at least with Teutonic, experience, we can hardly admit the indebtedness of the Eddas to Jewish-Christian or classical myths.

The Egyptian, we know, spoke of the soul of the departed crossing the *desert*, because it was the desert which shut in all his world. All the Aryan race, which—as I argued in my former paper—must have lived near the Caspian, and early conceived the notion of water surrounding the world, made the soul cross this water to get to paradise. In the earliest myths of all, however, this water-crossing does not take the form of a journey over sea.

If man looks out upon any wide expanse of water, and no matter though this be but an inland sea, so long as he has not ascertained its limits, it is natural for him to imagine the water as running all round the land on which he himself lives. A certain love of equality and balance, characteristic of human nature, and very traceable in mythology, tends to such a conclusion. If the man sees water on one side and observes how this puts a finis to the land, water will enter into his conception of all limit; he will fancy it upon the other side also, and finally in every direction. But he will not first of all call this water in any distinct sense a *sea*. He has never yet explored its distances, he has not learned to distinguish between it and the rivers which he knows better; the rivers his familiar companions

and fetish gods. The sea is a great deal bigger than other rivers; so wide that his sight cannot reach across it, but then, perhaps, he can scarcely distinguish the opposite shore of some of his largest streams. The sea is for primeval man merely the greatest of all rivers, the parent of them all, the feeder of all. It is his Okeanos, the source of all waters, but itself a river, not a sea. Okeanos is truly the parent of all seas, because the belief in him dates back to a time before the recognition of seas as such. Wherefore in the earliest myth of the soul's journey, it is a *river of death* and not a *sea of death* which we meet with.

In time this earliest belief fades away, and the myth of the Sea of Death comes to take its place. The whole history of the growth of ideas in these matters is nowhere better illustrated than it is in the case of Greek mythology. We have in the Greek mythology of death three distinct phases of thought presented to us. We have first the Hadês, which is merely a dark underground Kingdom. But in obedience to the notion of the westward home of souls, Hadês was afterwards moved westward and placed beyond Okeanos, beyond the *river* Okeanos, observe. Last of all sprang up the myths of island paradises which are shadowed forth in Homer, but far more clearly expressed in Pindar and the later poets: these *Islands* could only be conceived when the Sea of Death had supplanted the River of Death.

In the Eddaic cosmology the Sea of Death is the midgard-sea; the land of shades beyond it, is dark Jötunheimar (giants-home), which, as I shall presently show more clearly, is not really distinguish-

able from Helheimar. The Norsemen, and especially the Icelanders, among whom the Eddas were cradled, had so long been acquainted with the sea, that we might expect their River of Death to have almost disappeared. And yet there are still traces of this earlier phase of belief: and that there are such traces is a fact of high importance as evidence upon the question under discussion. The belief in an earth-surrounding river can still be traced. It is a distinct example of survival from quite a different stage of development; it exists in the Eddas as one of the *stunted limbs* of thought.

I need not waste time in showing that the general belief expressed in the Eddas touching the mid-gard sea is, that it lies between the home of gods and men, on the one hand—that is to say, between Mannheim with its Asgard in the midst—and giant home on the other hand. At the end of time the *jötnar* are to come from over the sea to meet the gods in combat on Vêgrâds plain;[5] Thorr traverses a vast deep sea when he goes to Utgardhloki;[6] and so forth. Well, in one place in the elder Edda I find the parallel belief that it is a *river* which separates the gods and the giants. For it is said in the Vafprûðnismâl.

> Tell me, Gagnrâd, how is named that stream (â),
> Which earth parts between the giants and the gods.
>
> Ilfing, the stream is named . . . .
> Free shall it run, all ages through;
> On it no ice shall be.[7]

This is one passing mention of the earth-gerding

[5] Völuspâ, 49, 50. Vafprûðnismâl, 18.
[6] Edda Snorra D. 45.
[7] Vafpruðnismâl, 15, 16.

river. We see it is especially noted as ever flowing, through all time. The Greek Okeanos was believed to flow for ever, and that it might do this, it had to return in its own bed. I see the same myth of this river more obscurely but more deeply engraven in the Norse mythology in the case of the earth-serpent *Jörmungandr.*

Jörmungandr is called the midgard worm or serpent (miðgarðsormr). He is described lying at the bottom of the Midgard Sea encircling the earth as that sea does. His tail is in his mouth, and it is still continually growing into his body. All mythologists have seen in this midgard serpent a personification of the sea. But it is not precisely this; the tail growing continually into the mouth most clearly suggests the idea of a river flowing in upon itself, and we know how Okeanos is described as returning continually in his bed in just the same way. Now it is a fact—of which the cumulative evidence is enormous, but impossible to be recapitulated fully here—that when a serpent appears in the Indo-European mythology he very frequently is symbolical of a river. The serpents Ahi and Vrita against whom Indra fights may, indeed, be clouds; undoubtedly they are so sometimes. But in their earlier significance it is possible that they, too, were streams. 'Holders of the water,' they are styled; and the title would apply either to clouds or to rivers. The tendency of the Vedas is to give a celestial character to everything, to transfer the things of earth to heaven. We have in the Vedas distinct mention of the seven streams, from which Agni (the fire) is born:[8] in this case clouds

[8] R.V. i, 20, 3, 4.

are meant, and they are thus called the seven heavenly streams. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing the celestial serpents, Ahi and Vrita, to have had their prototypes on earth, and before they were embodiments of the clouds, to have been embodiments of the rivers.

In the Greek legend of the Python, again, the serpent river comes clearly before us. We remember that the fight between Apollo and Python, as told in the Homeric hymn, springs directly out of the enmity of the fountain goddess Telphusa toward the sun-god. This Telphusa, or Delphusa, is unquestionably some ancient river fetich, whose worship the Dorian cult of Apollo was destined to displace. She contrived a strategem to rid herself of her rival; she sent him to the deep cleft of Parnassus, where the Python, her other self, dwelt; when Apollo had slain this monster, he returned and polluted the fountain of Telphusa.

M. Maury, in his 'Religions de la Grèce,' quotes from Herr Forchammar an ocular experience of the death of the Python beneath the arrows of the Far Darter. In the great amphitheatre of Delphi, whose very name was taken from the concavity of the valley (δέλφυς, belly) which was the site of the town, is poured during the rainy season a rapid torrent which passes between the two rocks formerly called Nauplia and Hyampeia. During spring the waters drain off and evaporate, so that in summer the torrent brings no water to Delphi. Then the writer goes on to point out how, consistently with this natural phenomenon, the name of the serpent in the legend is first Δελφυνη, that is full of water (from δελφυς and ὕνος for οἶνος, in

this connection any liquid), and afterwards Δελφυη, empty belly (δελφυς-ινάω). Ovid says that this Python was born from the earth after the deluge of Deucalion; Claudius tells us that he devoured rivers (*i.e.*, his tributaries). We must not, of course, consider the slaying of the Python as a local myth only, but it was localised at Delphi, and here spoke of one particular stream. The story has its counterparts in the fight of Heracles with the Hydra, with the apple-guarding snake in the garden of the Hesperides, or with those two whom he strangles in his cradle, both to be taken in connection with his labour in turning the course of the Peneius and Alpheius.[9]

In the Norse mythology the fight of Apollo and the Python reappears in all essential features in the combat of Thorr and Jörmungandr. Taking into consideration, then, all this body of proof, we are, I think, justified in saying that Jörmungandr is the river of rivers, the Norse Okeanos. He is, then, essentially the River of Death. The same myth of the soul's journey is thus preserved in two forms corresponding to two strata of knowledge, the old and persistent ground idea having to adapt itself in each case to new experiences. It need not be said to any one who has studied mythology, that such a dividing of one thing into two different forms is very common; so common, indeed, that it would be hard to find in any system a natural phenomenon which has not been mythically presented in two or three forms. Thus the sun is sometimes a

[9] There is, we see, a duplicity about these labours of Heracles: two serpents strangled when he is an infant, two more in his maturity; two rivers overcome.

separate being, sometimes it is the eye of another being (of Mitra and Varuna in the Vedas,[10] of Odhinn in the Eddas).[11] The disk may be itself worshipped, or it may be the chariot of the sun-god, or a wheel of his chariot. In the Vedic Agni we see one embodiment of the lightning; but we see the lightning again as the spear of Indra and of the Maruts. Zeus is sometimes the heaven, and when he is so his hair is the thundercloud; at other times Zeus is rather the cloud itself. The same transformations pass over the being of Athene.

That the River of Death is the older among the two presentments of the same idea, appears first from the natural order of man's experience, as has been pointed out; and secondly from the fact that the River of Death alone has survived in all the creeds of the Indo-European races. In the Vedas it is represented by the stream Vaiterani,[12] which lies between mankind and the house of Yama; and which is crossed by a *bridge*, generally the Milky Way, but sometimes the rainbow.[13] In the Persian religion the same bridge appeared in the famous *K*invat.

The Greeks had their River of Death first of all in Okeanos. Afterwards by transfer to the lower world, and then by an expansion into four rivers, in Styx and its three kindred streams.

[10] Rig Veda, vii, 63. i. *Ibid.*, x, 37, i.

[11] Simrock, *Handbuch der deut. Mythologie*, p. 206, speaks of Odhin's eye as the moon. It is more probably the sun.

[12] The hard to cross.

[13] *See* Vrhadâranyaka Ed. Pol. iii, 4–7; and A. Kuhn in *Zeitsch. für Verg. Sprachforschung*, vol. ii, p. 310.

Sad Acherôn of sorrows black and deep;
Côcytus named of lamentation loud,
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethôn,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.

Norse mythology by the same natural transfer, but without expansion, had likewise its underworld stream *gjöll*, over which was the gjallar-brû (gjöll's bridge). This name of the northern stream corresponds in a curious way to the Greek κωκυτός; and yet could hardly have been copied from it.[14]

The mortal river then being so much older than the mortal sea, we need not wonder that the myth of it has come down to us obscured in the myth of Jörmungandr.

Nor, again, need we wonder that this serpent is so terrible a being. He is one of the three great destructive powers, each of these powers being an embodiment of death in one of its guises; he is perpetually at war with Thorr; and at Ragnarök he will take a part in one of the three great combats in which the three greatest gods will be slain; the other two fights being borne, on the giants' side, by the wolf Fenrir, and by Surtr, or by Loki as we choose to take it.[15]

Fenrir.

Jörmungandr, then, is one personification of death. We might expect, even before we had exactly considered their natures, that other personifications were to be found in Jörmungandr's nearest kin, in Loki

[14] Gjöll, from *at gjalla* to yell.

[15] I need not remind the reader of the numberless tales told in early Teutonic, or in middle age legends of fights between the hero (Sigurd, Beowulf, Siegfrid, St. George &c.,) and a dragon or worm, which reproduce in all essential parts the battles between Thorr and Jörmungandr.

his father, in Fenrir and Hel his brother and sister. Concerning the last of the three, there can be no doubt or question, for her nature as the goddess of death and the embodiment of the tomb is patent to all. Fenrir may be dismissed almost as easily as Hel, whom he most resembles. He is the *uralt* image of the grave (the yawning pit) converted to be a *being* (generally a dog or wolf, sometimes a dragon) with yawning mouth.

The antetypes of Fenrir in Vedic and Greek mythology are, for the Vedic, the two dogs of Yama, called collectively the Sârameyas, and individually Cerbura and Syama ;[16] and for the Greek the hel-dog Cerberus, whose connection with the Vedic Cerbura does not need to be pointed out. Fenrir has a fellow in Garm (mana-garm), the devourer of the moon. There is a dog too (we shall presently see) to be met on the way to hell. In mediæval art the mouth of hell is often represented as the mouth of a dragon ;[17] this is in obedience to the same mythopœic instinct which creates Fenrir and Cerberus. It is evident that Jörmungandr would serve to express the same idea. Indeed, there is some confusion and has been some exchange of nature between these two brothers. The precise meaning attaching to *gandr* is doubtful, but some commentators render it by *wolf*. *Fenrir*, on the other hand, contains the idea of water (fen) ; it is etymologically connected with the Vedic Pa*n*is, a kind of cloud or river beings against whom Indra fights.

[16] *See* Kuhn, l.c. ; Weber in Chamb., 1020 R.V. vii, 16.

[17] *See*, for examples, some of the sculptures and some of the windows in Strasburg Cathedral.

Loki.

The third important personification of death is the personification of the *funeral fire*, in Loki. The place which this being takes in Norse mythology is a very important one; and the place which he takes in the argument of Professor Bugge, directed against the genuineness of the Eddaic sources, is very important also. I will therefore ask for some leisure to discuss this being. But agreeably to the plan which I proposed at first, and have followed hitherto, I will not continually break into my scheme of the genesis of the Loki myth to point out the points in which it conflicts with Professor Bugge's scheme; but will rather suppose that the reader has Professor Bugge's invaluable paper beside him, and is able to weigh the evidence on either side.

The character of Loki (according to my theory) in the form in which we see it, has sprung into being through the influence upon men's minds of the custom of cremation. We have first, then, to consider how far that custom prevailed among the northern nations.

In his learned tract upon this question, Grimm shows that among the Indo-European races the traces of the custom of corpse burning are upon the whole rarer among the Celts (Gauls or Britons) and among the Latins, who both practised the rite to some extent but not greatly; that the traces are the more frequent among the Greeks and the Germans. I believe this to be confirmed by recent researches, especially so far as the Celts are con-

cerned. I should not be surprised if it were to prove eventually that the Teutonic race had of all our stock been in prehistoric days the most ardent practisers of cremation. A curious light, and one which was I think unknown to Grimm, is thrown upon this matter by the account given of the funeral customs of one northern people by the Arab traveller Ibn Haukal, in his *Kitâb el Meshâlik wa-l Memâlik* (Book of Roads and Kingdoms), written during the tenth century: his travels, I believe, extend from 942 to 976. These accounts are, therefore, pre-Eddaic in date, and offer a valuable testimony for our purpose.

The people whom Ibn Haukal visited were the Russ or Varings, dwelling in the centre of Russia (near Kief), to which country they have bequeathed their name. For all that, they were a Gothic and not a Sclavonic race. Not the least interesting part in Ibn Haukal's account of the Russ funeral is the incident with which it concludes. 'Hearing,' says the Arab, 'a Russ speaking to my interpreter, I asked what he said. "He says," was the answer, "that as for you Arabs, you are mad, for those who are the most dear to you and whom you honour most, you place in the ground, where they will become a prey to worms; whereas with us they are burnt in an instant, and go straight to paradise." He added, with laughter, "It is in favour to the dead that God has raised this great wind, he wished to see him come to him the sooner." And in truth an hour had not passed before the ship was reduced to ashes.'

Observe that in the creed of these people, burning is the necessary gate from earth to heaven;

if a man is buried he falls a prey to worms and perishes utterly. Accordingly we find from another passage that all the Russ are burnt after death, even the poorest, while the bodies of the slaves (for which perhaps we might read Slavs) are abandoned to dogs and birds of prey. The Greeks did not attach a like certainty of Paradise to the burning of the dead, but with them the completion of some funeral rite was needful to give the soul entrance to Hades. Thus, in the Odyssey, Elpenor, one of the comrades of Odysseus, is the first to meet him at the entry of the other world, because his body still remains unburied beneath the broad earth.[18] He cannot find his way to Hades' house, and he beseeches Odysseus duly to *burn*[19] his body when he goes back.

The exclamation of the Russ in seeing the wind spring up must remind us how Achilles prayed to the north and the west winds to make burn the funeral pile of Patroclus, and we remember, too, how Patroclus, like Elpenor, was forbidden by the *ψυχαὶ καὶ εἴδωλα καμόντων*, the spirits and shades in Hades, to pass thither till his funeral had been accomplished. When Priam could not get the body of Hector for the same purpose he, as a poor substitute, burnt the clothes of him instead. I think we may gather from these examples of popular feeling that, among the Greeks, while some funeral rites were necessary, burning the dead was not obligatory, though it may have been preferred. And this view is confirmed,

[18] Od. xi, 52. The words used are *Οὐ γάρ πω ἐτέθαπτο . . . Θάπτειν* is, etymologically, to *burn;* cf. Skr. Pers. taften, Lat. tepere, A. S. þefjan. Grimm, *Ueber das Verb. der L.*

[19] *Αλλά με κακκῆαι*, Id. 74.

as far as it can be, by the remains of Greek tombs. As for the Romans, Pliny and Cicero both agree that the custom of burying preceded that of burning among them; and Pliny further tells us that in the Cornelian gens no one was burnt before Sulla, and that he ordered his body to be so treated merely in fear of revenge for his having torn up the body of Marius.[20] There have, it need hardly be said, been found numerous remains of buried Romans. Nowhere do we find quite so much importance attached to the rite of cremation as by the north folk with whom Ibn Haukal came in contact.

It must be confessed that it nowhere appears that the views of these Russ were shared to the full by the Norse folk in the time of the Eddas. Buried remains of the tenth and eleventh centuries have been found in Scandinavia.[21] A typical instance of the buried hero is given us in the second lay of Helgi Hunding's Slayer, where the ghost of the hero is seen issuing from a mound. Nothing is there said of his having been burned before he was buried.[22] The heroic Edda is the one most likely to speak of customs as they actually existed at the time the Edda was composed: we may therefore, I think, conclude, taking on the one side the evidence of Ibn Haukal, on the other side this instance of burial in the ground mentioned by the Edda, that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the custom of cremation had to a considerable extent died out. On the whole burial remains

[20] Sicut in Cornelia (gente) nemo ante Sullam dictatorem traditur crematus; idque eum voluisse veretum talionem, eruto C. Marii cadavere. *H.N.* vii, 54.

[21] Some of the bodies had been *buried* in a *ship*.

[22] Helgakviða Hundingsbana Önnur, 36–*sqq*

are far more common in the iron age than in the bronze age.

If these facts be granted conclusions of considerable importance follow. We shall see anon that the rites of the funeral fire which Ibn Haukal describes are evidently closely connected with the myth of Baldur's burning. They are, therefore, either taken from the myth of Baldur's bale, or else the story of Baldur's funeral is copied from these or similar rites. We shall see this more clearly presently. If the first is the case, then this takes the myth of Baldur back some centuries before the supposed date of the Edda, and it shows the myth so familiar to a remote section of the Norse race that their ritual is founded on it. If, on the other hand, the story of Baldur's funeral is founded upon a former ritual, still it must, one would suppose, have sprung up when that ritual was more often practised and held of greater importance than was the case in the middle of the iron age. This point, however, I will pass by, until we have listened further to the account of the Arab traveller, which we shall do when we come to speak of the myth of Baldur.

What I am now contending for is, that the use of the funeral fire among the people of Northern Europe belongs properly to the bronze age, and was beginning to diminish some time before the Eddas were committed to writing; so that the importance of the god who personifies the funeral fire (*i.e.*, Loki) belonged to the bronze age, and that in the iron age (*i.e.*, in the Eddas as we know them) he, like the funeral fires themselves, was beginning to sink down and gradually die out. Now there is an immense body of Teutonic myth, legend, and custom, not peculiar to the Eddas,

but scattered throughout the length and breadth of German popular lore, which confirms what I have said about the importance of cremation in the old German funeral rites. For the full weight of this evidence I must refer the reader to Grimm's tract upon the subject. The learned author has shown among other things that the very names of certain sorts of thorn are derived from the use made of them in kindling fire (especially the funeral fire), so that the word 'thorn' may be translated etymologically as the burning plant. We must, I think, admit that the constant appearance of thorn hedges, pricking with a sleep-thorn, &c., in German and Norse legends and *Mährchen*, is a mythical way of representing the idea of the funeral fire: that is to say, it is a mythical image for death.

We shall find in comparing the Sagas and the more popular Mährchen, that the hedge of thorns in the latter very often usurps the place of the wall of fire in the former. I will take only one instance, but that instance one of the most typical, so that it may stand for the rest. No one who compares the story of Brynhild, as we have received it from Norse tradition, with the German folk tale of Dornröschen (or, as we call it, the *Sleeping Beauty*), but must be struck with the likenesses which the two display.

In the Eddaic story of Brynhild we find that the heroine has been pricked by Odhinn with a *sleep thorn*, and that Sigurd awakes her from the sleep into which she has sunk. Afterwards we learn that Sigurd rides to her bed (he alone of all men can do this) through a wall of fire. Now translate this tale into the German legend, first by merely putting a spindle

in place of a sleep thorn, and substituting the thorn hedge for the hedge of fire, next by joining into one the separate incidents of the awakening of Brynhild and of Sigurd's riding to her through the fire; and we have the tale of the Sleeping Beauty. She, too, is pricked, and is sent to sleep, and one prince alone can find his way to her and wake her; and to do this he has to force his way through the hedge.

I need not dwell upon the nature myth which lies at the bottom of this tale. It is enough for my purpose if we recognise as the foundation of the story a myth of some hero riding through death to his beloved, to call her from Hel, just as Orpheus strove to bring back Eurydike; and if in the appearance of this wall of fire or this hedge of thorns, in the Teutonic cycle of legends, we recognise the deep traces which the special funeral rite of burning the corpse left in the beliefs of the Teutons.

It is a hugely significant fact that in the Eddas the fire-god is less beneficent than are the corresponding beings in any other Aryan mythology. Is not this because he, as the funeral fire, is chiefly the representative of the destructive side of nature? The Loki of the Eddas is before all else the great head and first principle of the chaotic powers. 'When Loki is loose' (that is to say, when fire is loosed: for fire, we are distinctly told, is to be the ending of the world), is a phrase synonymous with 'the end of all things is at hand.' But it must not be supposed that Loki has no other character than this his malignant and giant-like one. He has obviously two natures, one which attaches him to Asgard and to the Gods, the other which attaches him to

Jötunheim and the giants; so that he is as often called a Jötun as one of the Æsir. (The story told in the younger Edda of his eating a heart, and so becoming wicked, is clearly of no account for an explanation of Loki's nature.) In his beneficent god-like aspect, Loki appears most plainly in the Eddaic story of the making of man, if he be, as is generally supposed, one with the Lodr there spoken of—

> From out of their assembly, came there three;
> Mighty and merciful, Æesir to man's home.
> They found on earth, almost lifeless,
> Ask and Embla, futureless.
>
> Spirit they owned not, sense they had not;
> Blood nor power, nor colour fair:
> Spirit gave Odhinn, thought gave Hœnir;
> Blood gave Lodr, and colour fair.[23]

This Lodr, who is generally believed to be Loki, is here placed in a great creative trilogy, and must be, in this connection, reckoned one of the first, as well as one of the kindest amongt the Æsir. A double nature attends this being throughout his career. He has two wives; one we may suppose celestial, the other of Jötun-kin. 'Angrbodha (Angstbote, pain-messenger) was the name of his giant wife in Jötunheimar. With her he begat three children, one was the Fenris wolf (Fenrisûlfr), another Jörmungandr, that is, the midgard-worm, the third Hel."[24] These we see are three forms of death, and Loki, as the funeral fire, is the parent of death in all its guises. Well may the Edda tell us further that the

[23] Völuspâ, 17–18.
[24] Edda Snorra, 34.

Gods when these three were born doubted not that great hurt would come to them from these brothers and that sister.

Among this offspring of Loki the character and personality of Hel is the simplest. She is the embodiment of the conception of the tomb as the dark *concealed* place.[25] Fenrir is the same under its aspect as the ravener, the man-devourer similar to the mediæval ogre; Jörmungandr is the personification of the river of death.

Each of these beings, Hel, Fenrir, Jörmungandr, had its doubles or counterparts. Fenrir his, in the wolf Garm; Jörmungandr, in the serpent Nidhögg, or in Fafnir of the later legend: Hel has her counterparts in many an old witch the embodiment of darkness and death, and among these, her own mother Angrbodha, who is to be identified with a certain *iron-witch* who is described as rearing the progeny of Fenrir and Garm the moon-devourer.[26]

These are, in general outline, the chief personifications of death which we meet with in the Eddas. If these are, as I think they must be allowed to be, consistent with what we know of Teutonic beliefs and customs in pre-historic times, it will be further found upon near examination of the Eddaic stories, that in respect of this body of belief, the tales are wonderfully consistent with one another.

Visits to the Underworld.

There are, in the elder Edda, numerous rather disjointed accounts of visits paid by gods and men to the

[25] Hel, from *at helja*, to hide.
[26] Völupsâ, 32.

nether world. I will proceed to examine some of these.

The Grôugaldr is a story of the visit paid by a son to his dead mother (or step-mother ?) Grôa in her tomb. Her, by his incantation, he rouses from her sleep, and she again teaches him further incantations and magic rune-songs, to guard him against the chief dangers of our earthly life. At the beginning of the lay the son is made to cry out, 'Wake up mother, at the gates of death I call thee,' showing us well enough whither he has journeyed. The only importance attaching to the rest of this poem is the passage where Grôa's son says that she (his step-mother ?) had on a former occasion sent him to woo the maiden Menglöd; whereas another lay, the Fiölsvinnsmâl, shows us that Menglöd was one who had her home in the lower world. The maiden must therefore (in this connection) be a kind of Hel, and the verse—

> A hateful snare, thou cunning one didst lay,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> When thou badest me go, Menglöd to meet,

is to be interpreted that this witch step-mother had sent her son to his death[27] (to meet Menglöd), and now finds him at her own tomb.

This passage helps us better to understand the Fiölsvinnsmâl, showing us that if the visit of the hero in the Grôugaldr is a visit to the underworld, so too is that recorded in the Fiölsvinnsmâl. It shows us (what from other sources we might surmise) that the Ûtgard of the latter poem corresponds to the

[27] Cf. the story in the *Sinfiötalok;* a story of perpetual recurrence, in its essential feature, throughout German popular lore.

'gates of death' of the former. Fiölsvith, who has given his name to the poem which we are now about to describe, is the porter of the Ûtgard, or outer world, or house of death. The lay tells us how—

> From the *outer ward*, he saw one ascending
> To the seat of the giant race.

(And so he cried out)—

> On the moist ways, 'hie thee off hence,
> Here, wretch, it is no place for thee.
>
> What monster is it before the entrance standing,
> And hovering round the dangerous flame?'

After a while, the wanderer and the warder fell into talk, and the former asked of the latter many things concerning the house before which he was standing. The significance of some of the things is quite lost to us; but there is enough left to show us that more is meant than could concern any common house, or even a giant's home. There are allusions to persons and animals who appear again at Ragnarök; and I have little doubt that the conversation all through is meant to be a revelation of the obscure and mythic ideas surrounding the house of death. It is especially noticeable, that in this visit to the underworld we come across the fire surrounding the house. It is precisely the fire through which Sigurd passes to Brynhild, through which Patroclus desired to pass to Hadês, and which therefore this living wanderer, this Odysseus of the North, is not at first allowed to win his way through. The fire is alluded to again in verse 31.

'Tell me now, Fiölsvith, what now I ask, and I would know,
How the hall is named, which is girt far around with flickering flame?'

We meet in this lay with two dogs, the guardians of the underworld; one is called Gifr, and the other Geri; they take alternate rest, so that one is always awake to guard the way. They thus closely resemble the two Vedic dogs, the Sârameyas.

This story of the Fiölsvinnsmâl is, in the kernel of it, a simple nature myth.

The wanderer turns out to be Svipdag, the lover of Menglöd. She is the earth-maiden, the Persephonê of the Eddaic mythology, held in the halls of winter; and Svipdag is the summer god, who has come to set her free. He discovers himself to the warder; the dogs rejoice, the gates fly open, and he wins his way to his betrothed.

A very close parallel to this tale is that of the love of Freyr and Gerd, which is told pretty fully in both the Eddas. Freyr has been looking from heaven's seat, and far away in frozen Jötunheim he has seen a wondrously beautiful maiden, who at that moment was in the act of entering her father's house. Her name is Gerd, that is to say, gard or *earth*; Freyr we know for the god of summer. The wedding of Freyr and Gerd, is the marriage of Dionysus and Persephonê. To woo this Gerd, the god dispatched his friend Skirnir to Jötunheim. What concerns the present enquiry, is to note what is again told us concerning the nature of the house where Gerd is kept a prisoner, and the dangers to be overcome by him who would reach it.

Again the fire-circle is mentioned, and in terms almost exactly the same as were employed in the other lay.

Give me, says Skirnir to Freyr—

'Give me thy swift steed then, that he may bear
me through
The far flickering flame.'

And then in a beautiful passage he addresses the horse—

'Dark it grows without! Time I deem it is
To fare over the misty ways.
We will both return, or that all-powerful Jötun
Shall seize us both.'

Skirnir (the story goes on) then rode to Gymir's dwelling. There were *fierce dogs* at the door within the hedge, which protected Gerd's hall. He rode to where a cowherd sat upon a hill, and spake to him:

'Tell me, cowherd, who on this hill sittest
And watchest the ways,
How may I come to speak with the fair maiden,
Past these dogs of Gymir?'

The cowherd's answer is noticeable as expressing the nature of the place we have come to:

'Art thou at death's door, or dead already?
Ever shalt thou remain lacking of speech
With Gymir's godlike maiden.'

We might have expected still fuller information of the way to Hel, in the heroic poem called the Helreið Brynhildar, Bryhild's Hel-going. But in reality it is concerned entirely with doings on the earth before Brynhild's death, and the introduction

only is of any use to us. This says that, 'after Brynhild's death, two funeral piles were raised; one for Sigurd, and he was burnt the first. Next was Brynhild burnt, and she lay upon a car which was hung with costly cloths. It was related that Brynhild in this car took the road to Hel.' We shall presently see that a man who was burnt in a ship, was supposed to take afterwards a voyage in that ship to Paradise; so Brynhild being burnt in her chariot is said to drive in it to Hel's kingdom. 'She came to a cave where dwelt a woman of giant kind.' We often meet in Eddaic mythology with the same old giantess whom Brynhild encounters, sitting at the door of her cave (or tomb) at the entry to the nether world. She is little distinguishable from Hel herself; in a more physical sense she is darkness, sitting in the cave of night. Or, again, she is the wise woman or vala, Grôa, whom the hero of the Grôugaldr summons from her eternal sleep.

We come now to the Vegtamskvi a, which has a relationship with the chief among all the myths of death told in either Edda. I mean the story of Baldur's bale. Baldur, it seems, had by the warning of his dreams been threatened with death, and Odhinn thought it needful to ride down to the nether kingdom and consult there an old prophetess,—Grôa, if we choose so to call her, or Brynhild's giant-witch—whose tomb he knew to lie at the eastern gate of Helheimar. The story of this Hel-ride is in some parts of it very impressive. First we are told how on his way to Niflhel, the god met a dog 'from Hel coming,' 'blood-stained on mouth and breast,' and how it bayed and howled 'at the sire of magic song,' and then how—

Onward he rode, the earth echoed,
Till to the high Hel's house he came.
Then rode the god to the eastern gate,
Where he knew was a Vala's grave.
To the wise one began he his charms to chant,
Till she uprose perforce, and death-like words she spake.

'Say, what man of men, to me unknown,
Trouble has made for me, and my rest destroyed:
Snow has snowed o'er me! Rain has rained upon me!
Dew has bedewed me! I have long been dead.'

(He answers)—

'I am named Vegtam, and am Valtam's son:
Tell thou me of Hel; I am from Mannheim.
For whom are the benches with rings bedecked,
And the glittering beds with gold adorned?'

(She speaks again)—

'Here is for Baldur the meed cup brewed,
Over the bright beaker the cover is laid;
And all the Æsir are bereft of hope.
Perforce have I spoke, but will now be silent.'

The dialogue continues further, and then ends thus:—

'Not Vegtam art thou as once I weened,
But rather Odhinn, the all-creator.'
'Thou art no Vala nor wise woman,
The mother rather, of three Thursar.'

Who are these three Thursar (giants)? Who else can they be than that mighty trinity, Fenrir, Jörmungandr, and Hel. This supposed Vala must be Angrbodha the wife of Loki.

There is, I maintain, in all these accounts of visits to the underworld, a wonderful likeness, and a wonderful undesigned (at least not self-conscious) adherence to the essential elements of Teutonic belief in these matters. Who could have anticipated that the wife of Loki would reappear in this mysterious guise as the guardian of the Gate of Helheim? And yet, when we consider her nature and the nature of her husband, how natural does this appearance seem! Very curious, too, is the coincidence between the presence of Angrbodha in the Velgtamskviða, and the presence of the Thökk-Loki witch in the story to which we will now turn, the myth of the Death of Baldr.

The Death of Baldr.

In all cases where we are interpreting a complex mythology, we must remember that each tale is made up of a number of separate myths; and that our business is to distinguish the essential from the subordinate parts. It is of course only for the antiquity of what I hold to be the essential myths of the Eddaic system that I am contending. To illustrate what I mean by the difference between essential and subsidiary elements in a myth, let me take, as one example, the form of the Sea of Death, which in a former paper I endeavoured to trace in the Odyssey. There are, as we then saw, elements in the Odyssey myth which existed in the mind of the Aryan race at a time long preceding the self consciousness of any Greek or any Achæan race; but I should never pretend that there were not intermingling with these essential parts plenty of

subsidiary details, plenty of additions and embellishments, which are due to the poets who crystallized the Odyssey into its present form.

Another example is afforded us by the Nibelungen Leid. We know that the essential story of it was familiar to some of the German people before the days of the historical Brynhild and Fredegonde. Its real origin probably lies far back in the myth-making past of the Teutons. Yet there can be little doubt that the myth was in a manner reborn during that stormy time of change and adventure which began after the first breaking down of the ramparts of the Roman Empire, and came to an end only in the age of the Karlings. There can be no doubt that the beliefs which once attached to some mythic Siegfrid (or Baldr; for it is said they are the same) and his mythic friends and foes, came to unite themselves with the names of Attila, Fredegonde, Theodoric, and others. But even these personages had become mythical by the twelfth or the thirteenth century, when the actual Nibelungen Leid was written ;[28] and accordingly the German poem displays a second varnish, another re-dressing of these beings, in the characters which suit the date of the Nibelungen. The same kind of transformation, to choose one more instance, passed over our English poem, Beowulf. The poem is partly Christian, partly heathen. In its actual shape it was sung in Christian English courts; but the story which it relates, the myths which it is built upon, are heathen.

[28] I follow Bartsch in believing that the actual Nibelungen MSS., of which none are earlier than the 13th century, have been copied from a lost poem of the previous age.

It is only the essential or ground beliefs of the Eddaic myths that we have to take into account. According to Professor Bugge the essential foundations of the Eddaic mythology should be Christian, Jewish, or Classical: I rather maintain that the essential foundation is heathen-Teutonic, with only a slight overlay of such semi-Christian notions as might well have found their way into Iceland even before the birth of Sæmund the Wise.

Of the stories of the younger Edda I should say essentially the same. Only here we must make a larger allowance for subsequent varnishing, and for much paring down of the force of the earlier myths; for here the old element of *belief* has almost utterly disappeared, and the earlier myths have been transmuted into a sort of fairy tales. There are but two stories in the Gylfaginning which have a decidedly solemn and serious character. These are the death of Baldr and the account of Ragnarök. Two other tales, though not solemn nor serious, have also a strong colour of genuine and early mythology. These are the wooing of Gerdr and the story of Thorr's journey to Útgardhloki.

These four tales I consider the most valuable parts of the younger Edda. Of these, the last two are little else than enlargements from two poems of Sæmund's Edda, namely, of parts of the Völuspâ for one, and parts of the För Skirnis for the other. I have individually little doubt that the story of Baldr's bale had also its prototype among the lost ballads; and I have no hesitation in regarding this Eddaic tale as far more primitive in character—judging by all the canons that we can use to decide the relative

ages of myths—then the companion tale of Balderus and Hotherus which is told by Saxo. We shall see in the myth of Baldr many points of curious analogy to the funeral customs which Ibn Haukal noticed among the Russ of the tenth century, and to the beliefs which seem to have gone along with rites such as those. Only in the Baldr myth the belief upon some points seems more active and genuine than it is among the Russ : which looks as if the time from which dated the original poem of the death of Baldr, was much earlier than the tenth century. There is no need for me here to recapitulate at full length the myth of the death of Baldr. Almost every one knows its general outline : almost every one has read of the mistletoe dart shot by Baldr's blind brother Hö^{ð}r (the dark), but armed by the malice of Loki, the genius of all destruction. For us, let the narrative begin at the moment when the Gods prepare the funeral of their beloved son and brother. 'Then' says the Edda Snorra (D. 49), 'the Æsir took the body of Baldr and bore it to the sea shore. There was the ship of Baldr hight Hringhorni : that was the best of all ships. The gods wished to set the vessel afloat but could not. Wherefore a giantess named Hyrrokkin[29] was called out of Jötunheim, and she came riding upon a wolf with serpents for reins. . . . And leaning against the prow, she at one push sent forward the ship, and with such force that fire was struck from the rollers. . . Then was Baldr's body borne to the funeral fire ; and when Nanna, the daughter of Nep, saw it, her heart brake with grief, and she too was

[29] Another embodiment of the bale-fire. Her name is *fire-reek*.

laid upon the pile. Thorr stood forth and hallowed it with his hammer. And to this burning came many. First to name is Odhinn, whom Frigg accompanied, and the Valkyriur and his ravens. Freyr was borne thither in his chariot, yoked to a boar named Gullinbursti or Slidrugtanni; and Heimdall was brought by his horse Gulltop, and Freyja by her cats. And much folk of the Rime-giants and Hill-giants came too. . .'

While this was a-doing a messenger had been sent down to the Kingdom of Hel, to implore the goddess of death to release Baldr. In the account of this messenger's journey (Hermôdhr is his name)[30] we have just such a variation on the Vegtamskviða as might have existed in the lost poem which I have supposed. Hermôdhr rode, we are told, for nine nights, through valleys dark and deep, and could see naught, until he came to the river Gjöll, over which he rode by Gjöll's bridge, which was roofed with gold. Môdgudr (*soul's-fight*) was the maid who kept that path. She asked of him his name and kin; "For,' said she, 'yesterday five companies of the dead passed over the bridge; yet did they not shake it so much as thou hast done. But thou hast not death's hue on thee; why then ridest thou hither on Hel's way.' 'And he said, 'I ride to Hel to seek Baldr; hast thou then seen him on this road of Death?" Then she answered that Baldr had ridden over Gjölls bridge. "But yonder northward goes down the way to Hel" Hermôdhr continued till he came to Hel-gate. He rode to the hall, alighted and walked in, and he saw there

[30] Hermôðr (Heermuth, Kriegsmuth) is really a name of Odhinn, only the fact has been forgotten in the Edda Snorra.

his brother Baldr sitting at the seat of honour. And Hermôdhr abode that night. But at morning he besought Hel that Baldr might ride back with him, and said what grief for him there was among the Æsir. Then Hel said, "It shall now be proved if Baldr was so much beloved as thou sayest: for if all things on the earth living and lifeless alike mourn for him, then he shall fare back to the Æsir. But he shall remain with Hel if one thing refuses and will not weep. . ."

'Then the gods sent messengers throughout all the world to ask that Baldr should be wept out of Hel's grasp. And all things did so, earths, and stones, and trees, and all metals, as thou hast often seen these things weep when they are brought from the frost to the warmth. As the messengers were returning and deemed their work well done, they found in a cave a giant woman sitting, who was called Thökk, and her they besought to weep Baldr out of Hel. She answered—

> "Thökk will weep with dry tears
> Over Baldr's bale;
> Nor quick nor dead for the carl's son care I,
> Let Hel hold her own."

'It was deemed,' continues the younger Edda, 'that this could be no other than Loki.' We should rather take her to be the wife of Loki, 'the mother of three Thursar,' whom we have so often before seen sitting in her cave the tomb. Thökk is from the Icl. *dökkr*, dark.

In a general way the younger Edda preserves most of the world-pictures which belong to the

myths about death, and which we have described at the beginning of this paper. The Eddaic world consists essentially of three parts; there is the central island, the safe Æsir-watched sun-warmed region, with its midgard or mid-wall as a defence against the giant hosts; then there is the Mid-earth Sea outside the wall, 'like to a mote defensive of a house;' and, last of all, there are the cold death threatening regions beyond. This last region has its walls too —walls of flame—the 'outward walls' spoken of in Fiölsvinnsmâl.

This is the internal evidence for the genuineness of the myth of Baldr, an evidence which rests upon the strong realisation in its picture of the under world, and the consistency of these pictures throughout the other Eddaic myths.

It is highly interesting to me to learn that Professor Warsoë has found some metal work which he ascribes to the sixth and seventh centuries, with designs apparently representing the events of this story. This, if his view should be substantiated, is an important piece of evidence from the outside. But neither into this question, nor into that disputed matter of the Ruthwell cross, will I enter here.

Not less important is the evidence afforded by the picture of the Russ funeral given in Ibn Haukal, wherein are retained all the essential features of the Baldr myth, namely, the burning on a ship, the death of the wife, and the burning of her on the same pile with her husband. The dead man is not only burned, but burned in a ship. This custom is universal. It is a ship which the Arab traveller

describes as burning away in the funeral which he did witness, and which was that of a man of some rank. Elsewhere, he speaks generally: 'The bodies of the poor are burned in a ship which is made for that purpose.'

Ibn Haukal's account of the funeral at which he was present is as follows: 'The day fixed for the funeral was Friday. I went to the bank of the stream on which was the vessel of the dead. I saw that they had drawn the ship to land, and men were engaged in fixing it upon four stakes, and had placed round it wooden statues. On to the vessel they bore a wooden platform, a mattress and cushions, covered with a Roman material of golden cloth. Then appeared an old woman [typical, I suppose, of the death-goddess Hel], called the Angel of Death, who put all this array in order. She has the charge of getting made the funeral garments and the other preparations. She, too, kills the girl slaves who are devoted to death'. Follows the description of the dead man carried in rich raiments to be placed in a tent which had been erected on the ship: then the sacrifice of certain animals to his ghost, animals which will be useful to him in another world; and next a long description of the death of the girl slave who has devoted herself to be burned with her master. The traveller describes the lighting of the funeral fire, with rites which remind us of the Roman funeral; for he who brings the fire advances turning his head away. 'Others then came forward with lighted brands which they threw upon the pile. It kindled, and the ship was soon consumed, with the tent, the dead man, and his woman slave.'

Nothing, I notice, is said, throughout this description of the ship being removed from the stakes to which it has been fastened on dry land ; no hint, therefore, of the ship being really employed to carry the dead down any river, or across any sea. Yet can we doubt that in this burning of the ship we have a faint echo of the old belief in the soul's water journey ; and is not this curious survival the best witness we could ask for to the former potency of that belief? The myth of the sea or river voyage now lives only in a meaningless rite ; the really effective belief now is, that the funeral fire is the right road from earth to paradise. We have seen reasons for believing that the hey-day of the burning rites had passed away before the date of the Eddas, and that Ibn Haukal must be, for many of the beliefs which belong to those customs, a better authority than the Eddas themselves. In Ibn Haukal we see that the still earlier belief belonging to the soul's voyage had suffered diminution. It is fair to argue, therefore, that all the myths which represent either of these two customs—the custom of putting the dead body upon a ship, and the custom of burning the body—are representatives of an earlier stage of thought than any which actually existed at the date when the Eddas were composed. This is a strong argument for the genuineness and antiquity of such myths of death as seem to show the earlier beliefs still existing in their full force, or which show in prominent shape the images of fire and the sea conceived as destructive beings. And among these may certainly be counted the story of Baldr's funeral.

Thorr's Journey to Útgardh-Loki.

Let us now turn to another story of the younger Edda, which brings prominently forward the mortal region beyond the Midgard Sea.

He who loves peace and security will do well not to go too near that sea, not at least to those parts of it which lie toward Jötunheim. For, as we advance in that direction, and while we are still upon the hither side of the mortal sea, the scene continues to grow colder and more dreary, until we come to a certain iron-wood, the home of the witch-kind, and of all the wolf-kin. Here sits another sister of Odhinn's Vala and of Thökk, namely, the Iron-Witch, from whom is born Garm, the wolf who is to be the bane of the moon. Here we see a trace of the universal myth of were-wolves, that is to say, witches who become wolves. Still on, and we come to the sea-shore. 'Thorr,' says the younger Edda, in the account of the Asa's journey to Jötunheim, 'came to the shore of a wide and deep sea, and this he crossed.' But how? We are not told in that passage But in the Harbarðsliðð of the elder Edda we catch sight of that grim ferryman, whom men pay or pray to to carry them over. Beyond the Death-Sea we are in a wintry world. It is a place where the mist and fog hanging perpetually over the ice, make a deceitful air, an atmosphere of glamour and illusion. It is the Cimmerians' home, a land of night. Remember how Skirnir waited till it was dark before he went over those moist ways.

No sooner had Thorr crossed this sea than he began to fall a victim to the spells of giant land,

and the glamour increased till the conclusion of his journey, which ended in diastrous defeat. His first encounter was with a giant, Skrŷmir, against whose head he hurled his death-dealing hammer Miölnir. None, it was thought, could bear the force of a blow from this bolt. Yet behold Skrŷmir only asked if a leaf had fallen upon him as he slept. Again Thorr raised up his hammer and smote the giant with such force that he could see the weapon sticking in his forehead. Thereupon Skrŷmir awoke, and said, 'What is it? Did an acorn fall upon my head? How is it with you, Thorr?' Thorr stept quickly back, and answered, that he had just awoken, and added that it was midnight, and there were still many hours for sleep. A third time he struck with such force, that the hammer sank in up to the handle. Then Skrŷmir rose up and stroked his cheek, saying, 'Are there birds in this tree? It seemed to me that one of them had sent some moss down upon my face.'

Anon, Thorr and his comrades came to the house of a giant named Utgard-Loki, in whose hall and among the company of giants feats of strength were proposed, to match the new comers against the men of that place. After his comrades Loki and Thialfi had tried their strength, and been beaten, the turn came to Thorr. First he was challenged to drain a horn, 'which,' said Utgard-Loki, 'a very strong man can finish in a draught, but the weakest can empty in three.' Thorr, however, after three pulls, could scarcely lay bare more than the rim. The next challenge was to lift a cat from the floor; but Thorr, with all his efforts, could raise but one paw. Then came the third and last trial. 'The giant said: "It has

turned out as I expected. The cat is biggish, and Thorr is short and small beside our men." Then spake Thorr, "Small as you call me, let any one come near and wrestle with me now I am in wrath." Utgard-Loki looked round at the benches, and answered, "I see no man in here who would not think it child's play to wrestle with you. But let me see," he continued, "there is the old woman calling, my nurse Elli, with her let Thorr wrestle if he will." Thereupon came an old dame into the hall, and to her Utgard-Loki signified that she was to match herself again Thorr. We will not lengthen out the tale. The result of the contest was, that the harder Thorr strove, the firmer she stood. And now the old dame began to make her set at Thorr, He had one foot loosened, and a still harder struggle followed; but it did not last long, for Thorr was brought down on one knee.

'The next morning at daybreak Thorr arose with his comrades; they dressed and made ready to go their ways. Then came Utgard-Loki, and had a meal laid for them, in which was no lack of good fare to eat and to drink, and when they had done their meal, they took the homeward road. Utgard-Loki accompanied them to the outside of the town, and at parting, he asked Thorr whether he was satisfied with his journey or not, and if he had found any one more mighty than himself Thorr made answer that he could not deny, but that the event had been little to his honour. "And well I know," he said, that you will hold me for but a puny man, at which I am ill-pleased." Then spake Utgard-Loki, "I will tell you the truth, now that I have got you once more

outside our city, into which, so long as I live and bear rule, you shall never enter again; and I trow well that you never would have entered it had I known you to be possessed of such great strength. I have deceived you by my illusions. The first time I saw you was in the wood; me it was you met there. You struck three blows with your hammer; the first, the lightest, would have been enough to cause my death had it reached me. You saw by my bed a rocky mountain, and in it three square valleys, of which one was the deepest. These were the marks of your hammer. It was this mountain which I placed in the way of your blows; but you did not perceive it. And it was the same with the contests in which you measured yourself against my people. The first was that in which Loki took part. He was right hungry and ate well. But he whom we called Logi was the fire itself, and he devoured the flesh and bones alike. And when Thialfi ran a race with another, that was my thought (Hug), and it was not to be expected that Thialfi should match him in speed. When you drank out of the horn, and it seemed so difficult to empty it, a wonder was seen which I should not have deemed possible; the other end of the horn stretched away to the sea; that you did not know; but when you get to the shore, you will be able to see what a drain you have made from it; and that men now call the ebb."

'He continued, "Not less mighty a feat it was you did when you were uplifting the cat, and, to tell you the truth, we were all in terror when we saw that you had lifted up one paw from the ground. For a cat it was not, as it seemed to you, it was the

midgard serpent, who lies encircling all lands; and when you did this, she had scarce length enough to keep her head and tail together on the earth. Verily you stretched her up so high, that you nearly reached heaven. A great wonder it was at the wrestling-bout which you had with Elli; but no one was, nor shall be, how long soever he live, whom Elli will not reach, and Age not bring to earth. Now, however, that we are about to part, you have the truth; and for both of us it were better that you come not here again. For again I shall defend my castle with my deceptions, and your might will avail nothing against me." When Thorr heard these words he seized his hammer and raised it on high; but when he would have struck, he could see Utgard-Loki nowhere. He turned towards the city, and was for destroying it, but he saw only a wide and beautiful plain before him and no city.'

So far for the younger Edda; if I have given this quotation at some length, it is because the narrative is a good illustration of the way in which stories are treated in this later source of the Norse mythology. Any student of mythology, who compares the elder Edda with the younger Edda, must, I think, be struck at once by this difference of tone between the two. In the latter case we are no longer dealing with religion, even in a degraded form, but have descended to the region of the folk-tale. Yet that by no means implies that the essential part of the narrative, in this story of Thorr's journey, has not been handed down from some more reliable source; and I think I can trace very clearly behind the fantastic and fanciful character of the incidents as

we now read them, a more solid foundation. I think that earlier story formed an integral part of the series of myths that we are now concerned with, the myths of death. The name of Utgard-Loki is a very important one; it helps to disintegrate the god or giant Loki, into his two characters. Utgard-Loki —read 'out-world-Loki'—is, of course, the personification of fire in its destructive aspect, the fire of death. Instead of having, as in stories of the elder Edda before quoted, the circle of flame round the giant's, or round Hel's house, we have the same fire personified in a giant himself, the ruler of the house. The other Loki who accompanies Thorr is Utgard-Loki's natural antagonist. The three great contests of Thorr, again, prove on examination all to be contests with death, under one or another of its forms. The first is comparable with Apollo's fight with the Python, or Indra's with Ahi and Vrita. We have already seen how that Apollo's Python-slaying is, in its narrower and local aspect, the draining of a certain river. Beside this myth, therefore, we place the draught of Thorr, which almost drains the mid-earth sea, and this is we know the same as Jörmungandr. The second fight, with Jörmungandr himself in the shape of a cat, may further be compared with the efforts of Herakles (more successful efforts truly) to bring up Cerberus from the house of Hades. And lastly, the contest of Thorr and the witch, was not at first a wrestle with old age (a metaphysical abstraction not suitable to the early ages of mythology), but with the third child of Loki, Hel, the personification of the tomb. From Elli I look back to an earlier form, Hel.

These various stories of death-fights receive their final consummation in Ragnarök, the 'Doom of the Gods.' But the discussion of this myth in its details would take more space than remains at my disposal. I will therefore now leave this series of beliefs, and proceed to those others which are concerned with the image of the world in the present.

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§ II. *The Eddaic World.*

Yggdrasill.

The myths of death and of the underworld were connected, more than with anything else, with prophecy about the future; they are thus, in an inverse sense, *historical* myths. Those which I will now discuss are relegated to the present, and are thus essentially geographical; but still in an inverse sense, for they tell of the unknown world rather than of the known. The former were myths of time; these are myths of place and space.

And yet it is hard always to keep this distinction clear; for the shadow of death which rests so sadly upon all creation, is as visible in this (Eddaic) world of to-day as in the world of the future. If the gods themselves cannot escape from final destruction, so too the mortal man cannot stray far from his home, without coming within the sway of the powers of darkness. To understand the way in which the Teuton—of Scandinavia, or of Germany—learned to look upon life, we need to conjure up some image of

his pre-historic existence, and of the influences of that nature by which he was surrounded, and whereby his thoughts were fashioned.

We must first call to mind the picture which Tacitus has left to us of the Germans whom he knew or read about, of the life they lived, and of the land in which they passed their life. This last, he tells us, however it might differ in minor details, 'was, as a whole, either rugged with forest or dank with marsh (aut sylvis horrida aut paludibus fœda),'[31] and those who inhabited it did not dwell together in towns, nor even have their houses adjoining, but lived *discreti ac diversi*, each by himself, wherever invited by stream, or grove, or plot of open ground. Out of these three sorts of house-places, men lived most often, we may be sure, within the grove. Life beneath trees is the characteristic of German barbarism; that, and the worship of trees. The Teuton's divinities were essentially gods of the forest. Tacitus says that it was in groves that the Germans called upon their gods. We know that a word which in some Teutonic languages means 'holy,' in others signified 'wood;'[32] could we ask any stronger proof than is given by that little fact, that the central object of the German's creed was the tree. 'Single gods,' says Grimm, 'may have had their dwellings in mountain tops, or in rocky caverns, or in streams; but the universal worship of the people found its home in the grove.' Adam of Bremen has left us a description of a holy grove, as it was to be seen in Sweden in the eleventh century. It was at

[31] Tac. *Germ.*, c. 5.

[32] O. H. [G. *wih*, 'grove;' O. Saxon *wih*, 'temple;' Icl. *vé*, 'holy.' See Grimm, *D.M.* 3rd Ed. I. 54.

Upsala. 'Every ninth year a festival is celebrated there by all the provinces of Sweden, and from taking a part in this none is exempt. King and people must all send their gifts; even those who have embraced Christianity are not allowed to buy themselves free from attendance. The manner of the sacrifice is this: Nine of each kind of living thing of the male sex are offered; and by their blood the gods are wont to be appeased. Their bodies are hung in the grove which surrounds the temple. The grove itself is accounted so holy, that single trees in it are considered as a kind of gods, to the extent of receiving sacrifices of victims. There hang the bodies of dogs and men alike, to the number, as some Christians have told me, of seventy-two together.'

Nor is it only in the Teuton's temple or in his religious belief that the traces of life under trees are to be pointed out. I can imagine that many primitive races have made their first homes under the protection of trees, pulling down the branches to the ground, and fastening them there, wattling in with these other dead branches and grasses, to form a rude wall; and in this way building their first house round the live tree-trunk. Men might greatly advance in culture before they quite gave up the plan of building round a tree. I trace a survival of the tree-house in that description in the Odyssey of the sacred chamber of Odysseus, of which, and of the manner of whose building, only Odysseus and Penelope knew. We remember how when the hero has come to his home, and his wife still hesitates to recognise him, he bids her try him by questions; and Penelope speaks concerning a certain room and a certain bed

in the well-wrought chamber which Odysseus himself had made. Then he says: 'No living mortal among men, strong in health though he were, could well remove it; for a wonder bides in that well-made bed. There was a thick-leaved olive tree in the court, vigorous, flourishing; it was thick as the pillar of a house; and round this I built a chamber, finishing it with close fitting stones, and roofing it above . . . And I made smooth the trunk with brass, right well and masterly, and planed it with a plane, working it into a bed-post. And from this I made a bed, polishing it all brightly, with gold and ivory.'[33]

The ancient custom we see has, in this case, become overlaid with other uses; the tree-trunk no longer stands simple and bare, it is hidden in brass and polished smooth like a pillar.

The house of our northern ancestors was a tree-house of a more primitive kind. Those who have read the Saga of Völsung, will remember how when that king was entertaining the Goths in his palace, came in the god Odhinn, likened to an old man, and how he left sticking in the branstock (the tree which supported the roof of the palace) the famous sword Gram, so fruitful a source of sorrow in after years.

> Then into the Völsung dwelling a mighty man there strode,
> One-eyed, and seeming ancient, yet bright his visage glowed;
> Cloud-blue was the hood upon him, and his kirtle gleam-grey,
> As the latter morning sun-dog when the storm is on the way:

[33] Od. xxiii, 187–200.

A bill he bore on his shoulder, whose mighty ashen beam,
Burnt bright with the flame of the sea and the blended silver gleam;
And such was the guise of his raiment as the Völsung Elders had told,
Was borne by their fathers' fathers, and the first that warred in the wold.

So strode he to the branstock, nor greeted any lord,
But forth from his cloudy raiment he drew a gleaming sword,
And smote it deep in the tree-bole, and the wild hawks overhead,
Laughed 'neath the naked heaven as at last he spake and said:

Earls of the Goths and Völsungs, abiders on the earth,
See there amid the branstock, a blade of plenteous worth!
The folk of the war-wands forgers wrought never better steel,
Since first the burg of heaven uprose for man-folks weal.
Now let the man among you, whose heart and hand may shift,
To pluck it from the oakwood, e'en take it for my gift.
Then ne'er but his own heart falter, its point and edge shall fail,
Until the night's beginning and ending of the tale.'[24]

In the elder Edda, Brynhild hales Sigurd with the title 'brynþings apaldr,' literally 'apple-tree of war,'[25] using the term as synonymous with 'pillar of war;' a chance phrase which shows how universal was the use of trees in the way I have described.

[24] Morris' '*Sigurd the Völsung*,' Bk. i.

[25] *Sigrdrîfumâl* v. It does not take away from the significance of this phrase, that apple-trees were new things to the Norsemen at the time when the above Eddaic song was written.

From the house-tree to the world-tree is but one step, and an almost inevitable step. The Norseman on the image of his own home fashioned his picture of the entire world. The earth, with the heaven for a roof, was but a mighty chamber, and likewise had its great supporting tree passing through the midst, and branching far upwards among the clouds. This was the mythical ash, called Yggdrasill, Odin's ash. 'It is of all trees, the greatest and the best. Its branches spread over all this world of ours, and over heaven; three roots sustain it, and wide apart they stand; for one is among the Æsir (the gods), and another among the Hrimthursar (frost giants), where once lay the chasm of chasms; the third is above Niflhel (mist hell).'[36] So speaks the younger Edda. It is not to be expected that the notions concerning Yggdrasill and its different roots should be quite clear and consistent. Of the roots the elder Edda says,

> Hel lieth beneath one; beneath another the Hrimthursar;
> And beneath the third, Mankind.

So that men, in this case, take the position which is appropriated to the gods in the other case. These niceties are of small importance; while the fact remains that the Norsemen, even the Icelanders, had a clear belief in the great central earth-tree. The notion could hardly have been indigenous in a land so little wooded as is Iceland itself. On the other hand, all evidence goes to show that the idea could have been conceived only among some branch or other of the Teutonic race.

[36] Edda Snorra, D. 15.

Asgard and Mannheim.

The next feature in our Eddaic world is the picture of the human earth, Mannheim, girdled round by the Midgard Sea, and in the centre of it the Æsir's burg (*Asgard*). This is a high mountain, on the top of which the gods dwell, and which, like the Greek Olympus, may, according to the fancy of the believer, sometimes be thought of as rising straight from the earth, sometimes be placed in heaven and among the clouds. From Asburg to the sea, the land, we may imagine, sloped continually downward, extending into great plains, such as Ida's plain and Vêgrâd's plain, which are both mentioned in the elder Edda, and of which the last is the future battle field between the gods and the giants. In one part of the earth was the region of fairies, called Alfheim, the special kingdom of the god Freyr, given to him, we are told, for a 'tooth-gift.' But, according to another belief, the elves were scattered all over the earth, living sometimes upon the surface, and then called *ljôsâlfar* (light elves), or else living beneath the surface, and called *dökkâlfar* (dark elves).

I read not long ago, in one of the magazines, an article entitled, 'Who were the Fairies?' with answer given—not given, indeed, for the first time—that the fairies were the earlier race of stone implement-using men who preceded the Indo-European races in the West. I do not assent to this theory; because the belief in fairies is so widely spread, that it cannot require any particular and local experience to account for it. If a small prehistoric race were the origin of the fairies, then

there must have been some huge pre-historic race to give rise to the belief in giants. But I can well go with the author so far (and, perhaps, this is all for which he would seriously contend) as to say that the diminutive peoples with whom the Norsemen came so much in contact, and who are represented to us by the Lapps, may have realised to outward sight the conception of fairies which had already been formed inwardly in men's minds. Certain it is that the elves and fairies take a more conspicuous place in Northern belief than any pigmy people do in the classic creeds. Alfheimar, therefore, we must reckon among the genuinely Teutonic, or at any rate among the certainly not classic elements in the world picture of the Eddas.

If you will let your minds rest for a moment upon the picture which has been drawn of *Mannheimar* as an island, lying in the midst of an untraversed sea—The younger Edda says that 'the gods made a vast ocean, and in the centre of it fixed the earth, and bold will he be who tries to cross those waters'—and then think of the Æsir's mountain in the midst of Mannheim, you can hardly but be struck by the likeness of this picture to the actual Iceland, the cradle of the Eddas. This shows how soon men's image of the great cosmos shapes itself to suit their experience of the lesser cosmos. Just as the tree-house of northern lands suggested the earth-tree, so the appearance of Iceland suggested Mannheim to the poets of the Eddas. That ideas should have grown up in this way shows the people to have been down to comparatively recent times still in a myth-making condition, not at all barren of

imagination and belief. Of course the notion of the earth surrounded by a sea or a river is *uralt*, peculiar to no particular nation among the Indo-European family. But, as I contended in the former part of this essay, the notion of the earth-girding river has been by the Norsemen almost entirely lost sight of; while, in place of that, in obedience to the more recent knowledge of the Norsemen, and as an image of their more recent home, sprang up the parallel, but by no means identical, conception of Mannheim, as an island in the midst of the 'vast ocean.' To the Greek the earth was everything; his Oceanus was thrust far away and reduced to comparative insignificance; to the Norseman the sea was everything, the home of men and of gods but an island in it.

Asbrû.

I am obliged to harp rather upon this old subject of the earth-enclosing sea and river, which otherwise I have called the sea and river of death, because it supplies us with some curious and very valuable undesigned coincidences illustrating the way in which very ancient notions have lingered undetected and misunderstood in the northern creeds. The primitive belief concerning the river generally comes to include a bridge spanning it, over which bridge the souls of the departed make their way to the other world. We may call this the Bridge of Souls. The bridge is well known in eastern Aryan creeds. In the Vedas it is called the gods' path, and is generally recognised (physically) to be the milky way. It cannot always be that, however, for in one hymn its various colours are referred to—

'Upon it they say are colours white and blue, and brown
and gold, and red;
'And this path Brahma knows, and he who has known
Brahma shall take it; he who is pure and glorious.'

Evidently here the rainbow is the bridge of souls. In Persian mythology, again, the same bridge is known as Pul*K*invat, across which men must pass after death, if they wish to win to paradise. It was from the Persians that Mohammed adopted his Sirât, that narrow path, which spans the eternal fire, and which is finer than the edge of a sword. Yet, despite its narrowness, across this the souls of the righteous will be snatched by angels, but the soul of the wicked man, unable to stand upon it, will straightway fall headlong into the abyss beneath.[37]

The double nature of the Indian bridge, at once the gods' path, *i.e.*, the way by which the gods ride down to earth, and the souls' path, *i.e.*, the way by which souls get to the other world, is worthy of notice; for it suggests the explanation of some points in the Eddaic mythology which would otherwise remain obscure. The rainbow was called by the Northerns Asbrû, which is the same as the Indian name, the gods' bridge. It was also called Bifröst, 'the trembling mile.' There is small hint in the Eddas of the use of the rainbow as a path for souls, save in that one passage which I quoted in the former part of this paper, where the ghost of Helgi says to his wife:

'Time 'tis for me to ride the ruddy road,
And on my horse to tread the path of flight.

[37] "Sale's Koran, Introd.," p. 91.

I to the west must go o'er wind-helm's bridge,
Before Salgofnir[38] the heroes awakens.'

where the notion of a bridge of souls in the upper air and of dead men riding over it very clearly appears. Transferred to the underworld, the bridge is more familiar to us as Gjöll. Of Gjöll I have already spoken.

We owe to the learned Adalbert Kuhn some researches which have traced the myth of the milky way as a bridge of souls, from its first appearance in Eastern creeds, to its later appearance in mediæval German tradition.[39] Another of the names which the milky way bears in the Vedas is Gopatha, cow-path (perhaps cloud-path); this name is little altered in the low German form, Kau-pat, *i.e.*, Kuhpfad. All the *German* traditions concerning the milky way show it in the light of a bridge of souls: the most remarkable tradition of all being that of the wild huntsman Hackelberg, who is, without doubt, a kind of psychopomp. He is said, in the legends, to hunt all the year round along the milky way, except only during the 'twelve days,' when he descends to earth and hunts here. Putting side by side these different beliefs, have we not a curious chain of undesigned coincidences testifying to the antiquity in Teutonic mythology of that particular feature in the Eddaic world, the Asbrû? For we have found from the evidence of Indian and Persian tradition, the antiquity of the notion of the bridge of souls among some branches of the Indo-European race; we have seen from the Vedas that the bridge of souls, though

[38] A mythic cock.
[39] Zeitschr. f. v. Sp., *l.c.*

generally the milky way may be the rainbow; lastly, we have traced in German popular lore a belief attaching to the milky way, closely analogous to the belief of the Indians concerning it. If we had never heard of the Eddas, we should naturally be led to ask whether there were any tradition which connected the rainbow also with the Indian bridge: and now the Eddas come in and supply just the link which would otherwise be lacking.

Jötunheimar.

If we cross the midgard sea and enter Jötunheimar (the land of giants), we are in a region even more entirely appropriated by the Teutonic imagination. The contest between the gods and giants is the pivot of all Norse mythology and of all German popular lore; it is something utterly different from the Gigantomachia of Greek mythology. That was an event which happened once and for ever: the gods triumphed, and the Giants and Titans were driven away and put out of sight and out of thought. Of course the Greek knew of a far out-world region where these Titans lived and reigned, of 'a land where Iapetus and Kronos sit and joy neither in the splendour of Helios Hyperion, nor in the breath of winds, but deep Tartarus is all around:' he knew of this, but he thought little about it. Wherefore in Greek literature, when the gods are represented engaging in fight, they must do so with one another; the divine race has in nature no commensurate antitheses and antagonists to itself. In the Norse mythology the Jötuns *are* the commensurate antagonists of the Æsir; they are

almost greater than the gods, for they were before the Æsir were made, and the beginning and the ending of creation are alike with them.

The battle of the gods with the giants—or I should rather say, with the Thursar race, which seems to include some dwarfs also among its members[40]—is really a matter of the highest importance in the Eddaic creed. The Eddas themselves scarcely show it in its due light; because the Eddas, as I have said, only give us a picture of the religion in its decline. We ourselves are likely to regard these stories in a light very far from their due one, because we have been from childhood familiarised with stories of the same kind, not raised to the height of an epic, but sunk to the lowest level. It is hard to think of the giants and ogres of our nursery tales as ever having a serious place in men's beliefs; and yet we must remember that the survival of these tales, in shapes however diminished and degraded, is a testimony to the force of that old belief. The nursery giant is to the giant,—I do not say of the Eddas, but of a time before the Eddas—what the modern lizard is to the great saurians of the lias.

In the Eddas the individual contests between Æsir and Jötnar are reduced to rather mean proportions; yet still we observe that these are almost the only form of action which the poems of the elder Edda give us. The Vafþruðnismâl, the Alvîssmâl, the Hymiskviða, the Þrymskviða, all the poems, in fact, which relate any action, describe contests of this kind. The Völuspâ is chiefly concerned with Ragnarök, that is, with the typical giant battle, the

[40] Cf. Alvîssmâl.

consummation of all the lesser ones. The longest story in the younger Edda is the account of Thorr's journey to Utgard-Loki, and thisis only a single one among his many 'farings to fight trolls' which the younger Edda speaks of so often. But in truth, in the case of the giants, as in so many other instances, the Eddas show us only one portion, or one aspect, of the whole body of German belief; and what we learn from them requires to be supplemented by the knowledge which we gain from other quarters.

If we turn from the rather trivial accounts of the giant fights which the Eddas give us, to the much finer picture of a similar contest to be found in Beowulf, we mount at once from the twelfth century to the seventh or eighth, and by so many years we come nearer to the flourishing age of German belief. The portrait of Grendel in Beowulf may still remind us of the giants of our nursery tales, but the more thoroughly we grow acquainted with the spirit of the poet who conceived this being, the more do the childish elements in the conception seem to fade away. We feel convinced that, by the poet, at any rate, and in his age, the possibility of the existence of such beings was really believed in. In Beowulf, moreover, we see better even than in the Eddas, the origin of the belief in giants, and the reason why the giants held so great a place in the Teutonic world. The very existence of Grendel is bound up with the lonely places where he dwells, and with all the dark, barren, uncultured regions of the earth. He is a heathen of heathens, in the genuine and ancient acceptation of that word,—

> A haunter of marshes, a holder of moors,
> . . . . . Secret
> The land he inhabits, dark, wolf-haunted ways
> Of the windy hillside, by the treacherous tarn;
> Or where, covered up in its mist, the hill stream
> Downward flows.

To understand the growth of such a being, we have to recall the image of the German's world, drawn for us by Tacitus, and to think again of the long ages which the German had passed in his woody solitudes, that immense inheritance in a sense of the unknown, and a sense of the darkness encompassing all the light of life, which these ages had bequeathed to him.

This is the dominant note of German heathenism wherever it is to be found. It breathes in that splendid saying of the thane of Eadwine which Bæda records, that 'the life of man is like the flight of a sparrow through a lighted room, while storms of wind and snow rage without. The sparrow flying in at one door is for a moment in the warmth and light, but straightway flying out at the other, it plunges back into the darkness and the cold.' This note the Eddas have throughout caught and repeated. There may be in the Eddas, nay, I have already said many times that there are, signs that the ancient creed was then on the wane. Individual stories and individual characters show marks of degradation. But the whole image of the world presented to us in the Eddas is essentially the same as that shown us in Beowulf, and it is that which has left its trace in all the history of German thought. Everywhere the short space of the known is contrasted

with the vast and terrible region of the unknown. Mannheim is a little island of life in the midst of the vast sea, which sea is itself ringed round by the still greater circle of dark Jötunheim. Not man's life only, but the life even of the gods proceeds from chaos to chaos. The world sprang out of the *genunga gap* (the gap of gaping), and after the fight of Ragnarök, the earth will again sink in ocean, and 'fire's breath assail the life-giving tree.'

So far, then, as the Eddaic picture of the world is concerned, whether we look at its general character or at its characteristic details, all must alike be pronounced genuinely Teutonic, and just such as would be likely to have arisen under the circumstances which produced the Eddas. The signs of decay are, I think, what we might expect to find, and the signs of vigorous life are not less appropriate, because the latter belong to the essential character of Teutonic belief, and the former attach to details not essential.

To resume the results of these investigations: I believe we may decide to be genuinely Teutonic, that is to say, to have grown up naturally, and by the legitimate slow development of a mythology, not to have been imported wholesale from any foreign source, the following elements in the Eddaic system, which form the chief ingredients in it. We have the world as I have described it, with its Asburg or Asgard, rising somewhere near the centre, and Mannheim lying all round. Through the very centre of the earth springs the world-tree Yggdrasill, and from Asgard to the plain reaches downward the gods' bridge or the rainbow. Perhaps, according to another tradition, this *vindhjálms brú*, wind-cap's

bridge, may span the earth-girding sea, the sea of death. This midgard sea is essential to Teutonic belief; so is the midgard worm, which lies curled below, and which, I have said, is the survival of the earlier notion of an earth-girding river. Professor Bugge would derive him from the scriptural Leviathan. Jötunheim is essential to Norse belief, as the dark outer world which encloses the small safe world. And just as this physical land of death surrounds the land of life, so do the Jötuns outlive the gods, or, at least, so will all the gods fall by the powers of darkness, and chaos come again. Ragnarök, therefore, is an essential feature of Norse mythology, and so are those intermediate preparatory combats between gods and giants of which the Eddas are so full, and which have so conspicuous a place in German folk-lore. The Valkyriur, the choosers of the slain, that is to say, the choosers of the bravest heroes from among the dead in order that they may be translated to Valhöll, and hold themselves in readiness against the day of Ragnarök, are essential persons; and the myth of the Valkyriur, though I have not had space to treat of it, is, perhaps, the most thoroughly Teutonic in the whole Eddaic system. And, to descend to particular stories, I hold that those two very important ones related in the younger Edda, the journey of Thorr to Utgard-Loki, and the death of Baldr, are in all their main features undoubtedly genuine.

In the case of these two stories, indeed, I have, I think, shown that in the form in which they have come down to us they have lost something from an earlier tradition, the traces of which still remain distinctly visible.

§ III.—*Christian Influences.*

The above, then, being in my estimation the genuine elements of the Eddaic mythology, it follows that the spurious intrusive elements are of far less consequence. The consideration of these brings me in more direct contact with Professor Bugge's researches; because it may well be supposed that he will not omit from notice in his paper any of those parts which are open to criticism. I cannot go along with all the criticisms which he has at present made; but there are certain points where I find myself in agreement with Professor Bugge.

Professor Stephens says that it would be a strange thing to find in this case a decaying belief deeply indebted to a new rising belief; and not, as usually happens, the younger creed adopting a great part of its mythology from the older. What I think does generally happen during the contact of a new and an old creed is this: the rising one gives to the setting one some part of its spirit, of its morality, if it be in a more advanced moral condition; of its poetry, if it be more poetical than its forerunner; and in return it receives from that forerunner the framework of the actual stories, the actual *mythical* belongings with which it starts furnished. We find the spirit of Brahmanism pervading the later Vedic poems; and we find the myths of the Vedas surviving into Brahmanism. The same kind of thing happened in the transition from Brahmanism to Buddhism; and this latter religion, which has spread its doctrines into almost every eastern land, is found to

have adopted from almost every one some ancient myths which were indigenous there. Once more there can be no question that Neo-Platonism, and other among the later forms of Paganism, were largely imbued with the spirit of Christianity, but these shut their ears to the actual Christian legend. On the other hand, Christianity unsparingly adopted Pagan myths.

Turning to the Eddas, we find the same thing to have taken place with them. I feel very little doubt that the *tone* of many of the Eddaic stories is very different from what they were in pure heathen times. In the first place a certain air of unbelief, or at least of allegory, has been imported into them. An instance of this allegorising spirit is the introduction of Elli (old age) to fight with Thorr in the hall of Utgard-Loki, instead of the death goddess Hel, who, I feel sure, was his original antagonist. The story of the binding of Fenrir seems to me to have in many particulars a spurious air; and in no particular more so than in the account of the chain named Gleipnir, composed of the noise made by the footfall of cats, the beards of women, the roots of stones, the sinews of bears (why this element comes in I cannot guess), the breath of fish, and the spittle of birds. In the Baldr's bale, and in all the descriptions of that sun-god, there is a deeper current of morality than belonged to the original story. Indeed, I think the exchange of gifts between the rival creeds is never better illustrated than in the example of Baldr. Professor Bugge says that the exceeding fairness of Baldr, as well as his gentleness and goodness, are equally derived from

the Saxon ideas of Christ, who is the 'fair and good'—'no man so white as he; without a spot,' as the scourgers exclaim in the *Mystère de Jesus*:—and who in the English mystery-plays is generally represented with golden hair. But whence does Christ get his golden hair? Not certainly from the genuine tradition of his appearance; which tradition is preserved in the forged letter of Lentulus, where it is said that Christ's hair is the colour of wine. This belief has survived in art, for the dark red tone, commonly given to Our Lord's hair, is meant to realise this phrase, 'the colour of wine.' Why, then, may not the tradition of a golden-haired Saviour spring from the tradition of a golden-haired Teutonic sun-god? It is certainly reckoning without our host to say that the portrait of Baldr must have been drawn from that of Christ, when the pictures of Christ, from which Baldr is said to have been copied, have all been re-painted in Northern lands.

But the exceedingly mild and loveable character attributed to the Norse god in the Eddas—whose name may lead us to suppose that he was once a god of battles—this seems to be adopted from Christian legend.

In the Völuspâ, again, there are certainly some parts which seem to have been added to the original story. The old Norse proverb said, 'Few can see further forth, than when Odhinn meets the wolf.' And I believe those concluding stanzas of the Völuspâ, which tell of the rise of the new world, and the paradisaïcal condition of mankind which follows, to be an almost solitary instance of the Edda borrowing a legend from Christianity. These verses are of great

beauty, but we must, I think, reject them from the category of the true products of heathenism. The latter stanzas of the Völuspâ include that one (the 64th), to which Professor Bugge has taken exception; it includes, too, the verse containing the unusual, and not truly Gothic, word *dreki*, dragon.

We can easily understand why, in this one matter of hope in the future, and in the world beyond the grave, the decaying heathen creed was likely to be infected by the new-born Christian one. The same breath of an immense hope, which Mr. Symonds[41] pictures blowing over the fields of Italy, with the coming of Christianity, reached in time to the snow-fields of the North, and it is in virtue of this hope that the prophetic eye of the Vala—

> Sees arise, a second time,
> Earth from ocean, green again;
> Waters fall once more, the eagle flies over,
> And in the fell fishes for his prey.

striking a note which is foreign to the gloomy religion of the German race.

The point of criticism from which I have drawn this outline of the true Eddaic belief is, as I said at the beginning, that of the general student of belief; always regarding the matter in its comparative aspect, and not resting, if I could help it, upon single examples of the facts I wished to make prominent.

This method must certainly be the *beginning* of Eddaic criticism, or of the criticism of any mythology; though I do not mean that criticism

[41] "Studies in Italy and Greece."

can end there. We have to examine *first* the whole history of the people, to seize their national characteristics and their tone of thought, before we can judge of the probability that any myth did, or did not, spring up spontaneously among them.

I have not space left to enter into a detailed examination of the facts which Professor Bugge has brought forward in support of his thesis. Neither was such a detailed examination part of my original plan. Some points I think he has satisfactorily established; and as regards the details of the stories we must admit, in these instances, that they have been taken from Christian or classical myths. An example in point is the myth of all nature weeping to get Baldr out of Hel's home. This detail is clearly not essential to the original myth of Baldr, and might easily have been drawn from elsewhere. In certain instances, however, I think Professor Bugge makes his facts bear a greater weight of testimony in favour of his theory, than is legitimately theirs. We have to consider whether his argument may not be legitimately turned round, and where Professor Bugge asserts that the heathen myths were influenced by Christianity, and imported by the Vikings into Scandinavia, we may ask whether the Vikings cannot have brought their mythology to England, or, still more probable, whether the heathen English may not have possessed myths of just the same kind as those contained in the Eddas? I will give one example of what I mean, and with that example end.

How does the case stand for the theory that the death of Baldr by the mistletoe was a Jewish-

Christian legend? Had Baldr been a widely worshipped god among the German people, even if he had been (which we must remember Grimm denies) originally a god of war; still, from the form which the legend of him took, it is quite sure that he would come to be confounded with Christ; and that while his *character* was modified to resemble that of the Saviour of mankind, the *history* of Christ would be modified to take in some facts of the myth of Baldr. It is in the highest degree probable, therefore, that as the mistletoe had been chiefly instrumental in the death of Baldr, it would be made chiefly instrumental in that of Christ. Therefore it helps the argument of Professor Bugge no single step to show that there was a tradition saying that the cross was made of mistletoe; unless this tradition can be shown to have a source elsewhere than in England or in Germany. Without that link of evidence, which is wanting to Professor Bugge's argument, the fact tells the other way. The belief in England and Germany that the cross was made of mistletoe would, without the intervention of the Eddas, be an extraordinary fact needing to be accounted for; and surely not adequately accounted for on Professor Bugge's theory. The Eddaic myth of Baldr, however, is a sufficient explanation of that belief.

THE POPULAR LITERATURE OF OLD JAPAN.

BY C. PFOUNDES, F.R.G.S., M.R.S.L.

(Read 25th May, 1881).

(ABSTRACT.)

THE Popular Literature of Old Japan, is but one of the many interesting branches of Oriental research, of which but little is known generally; and I venture to think, that the intellectual life and literature cultivated amongst Asiatic peoples, is worthy of much greater attention, than has been hitherto bestowed upon such matters in England.

The literature and intellectual occupations of some thirty-five millions of people, must surely be of sufficient importance to claim examination, the more especially that of such a nation as the Japanese.

We must admit the wonderful extent to which their artistic colouring, and quaint design, has entered into our own decoration, and even our fashions; and I would therefore claim for this people, that they possess a very high degree of mental culture, great artistic instinct, and literary refinement. Nor can we overlook the fact, that they possess an ancient classical literature in common with other Eastern Asiatic nations, that have an aggregate population of some hundreds of millions.

Our compatriots in the East, and other foreign residents, take but little interest in the people amongst whom they are placed, and rarely devote themselves seriously to the study of the literature and intellectual life of the natives. There seems to be a general absence of mental energy, or sufficient inducement, in some cases a want of special training, and ample leisure, amongst the majority of the residents, to prompt them to essay to span the wide gulf that separates the Anglo-Saxon from the Asiatic. Wrapped in the mantle of our insular egotism, the native is too often despised by our countrymen abroad ; and instead of confidence being inspired in the minds of the higher class of natives, these learn, too often, to avoid the alien intruder and his surroundings, and keep him at a distance from the homes of the refined and cultivated natives.

I feel assured, Japan will prove an almost inexhaustible mine of wealth to the industrious Orientalist ; and the Sanskrit texts, the existence of which has been more widely made known by the learned Max Muller, is but an instance of this. That valuable discoveries will be made yet, in other directions, I have been long ago convinced ; and my own impression, that missing links of Chinese literature will be found in Japan, are supported by no less an authority than Alexander Wylie, Esq., and others.

Nearly a score of centuries ago the Japanese had frequent communication, officially and otherwise, with China, and in the earliest times the Japanese were great travellers ; even the leaders of marauding

expeditions of Japanese, brought back some addition to civilization and improvement of the people.

It is remarkable that then, as now, the Japanese most freely placed the fruits of their travels, and studies abroad, at the service of their fellow countrymen ; and the responsible rulers used every effort to spread knowledge, to encourage artistic and literary tastes, and reward scholastic success and literary and artistic ability.

From early times, not only were refugees from various parts of the Asiatic continent welcomed, but teachers were obtained from time to time, and Japanese of ability, statesmen, theologians, scholars, potters, and artists, travelled afar, bringing back from distant countries stores of knowledge and treasures of literature. Can we doubt, therefore, that there will be found preserved for us, intact almost, in Japanese Literature, vast stores of ancient Indian, Chinese, and other lore, long long ago effaced from their native lands? As I shall confine myself to the popular literature of Japan as distinct from the classical (or ancient Chinese), I must only very briefly allude to this Chinese element, so far as it bears on the subject, so as to enable those to whom the subject is quite new to clearly understand the distinction between them, and to what extent the Japanese are indebted to this Ancient Chinese Classic Literature. To the modern Chinese they owe nothing, and have little else in common with them than this classical literature.

It is recorded that the builder of the Great Wall, who endeavoured to exterminate all scholars, and

destroy the ancient classics, sent to Japan, as well as to other countries, in search of the Elixir of Immortality and the Philosopher's Stone. The astute envoy, knowing that to return unsuccessful would only be to meet a tragic fate, remained in Japan; and the Hatta family he founded, some two and a-half centuries before our era, is still in existence.

There can be no doubt, therefore, but that Chinese learning was known in Japan, to some extent at least, if not very generally, at this early period. Official records note, that from a Province of Korea, then called Okara, about a century and a half before our era, writing was introduced to Japan for official purposes; and later on from the same province (subsequently re-named Mimana) scholars and men of literature crossed to Japan to settle and teach. It was, however, in the third century of our era, that the Dowager Empress, after the conquest of Korea, obtained teachers and books to instruct the Japanese at court, and her son. In the early part of this third century, one *Wa ni* or *Onin* became the tutor of the Emperor's son, and a fresh and vigorous impetus to the spread of Chinese literature was the result. This is the period usually described, and erroneously I think, as that of the first introduction of Chinese writing to Japan.

Efforts do not appear to have been wanting at even a very early age to adapt the cumbrous Chinese system to the wants of the Japanese. In some early writings the Chinese characters were to some extent used as phonetics. There is, in some early composition, doubt and confusion as to the meaning of many of the passages, especially where the context

leaves it open, whether the value of the written character should be taken in the phonetic, hieroglyphic, or ideographic sense.

Gradually the knowledge of Chinese spread, until it has become to Eastern Asia very much what Greek and Latin is to us, and requires a like special study in Japan, as in the various parts of the Chinese Empire and adjacent countries.

In Japan many literary irregularities grew up, and were allowed to go on unchecked, until more recent times. Many new forms of characters, unknown in China, also crept into general use, and in time the inconvenience of not having a more simple form of syllabary, or an alphabet, became more and more apparent. Those learned persons who had studied Pali, Sanskrit, and other Western literatures and languages, and some of those who had visited India and other far off lands, endeavoured to meet this want. Eventually a system was adopted, which is attributed to *Ku Kai* or *Kobo dai shi* (in the 9th century A.D.). A limited number of Chinese characters appear to have been chosen, as having the nearest phonetic value for the syllabary, as then arranged, classified under the heading of nine consonants and five vowels, the vowel being in all cases preceded by the consonant. Two distinct syllabaries have come down to us, one derived from the square Chinese writing, and the other from the cursive; of this latter, in some cases, there are several characters for each syllable, used arbitrarily under certain fixed rules.

The contrast, between the Chinese composition and the Japanese, being very marked in ancient

and modern writings, there is great diversity; this is one of the most puzzling matters the student has to contend with. Popular composition is a compromise between these, and the greater the classical learning of the writer, the more frequently does the composition closely approach the Chinese style. Numerous pedantic, and to the tyro difficult, quotations are continually being met with, and the habit of only giving a catch word (or character) as it were, presuming the rest to be known, increases the labour of the alien student.

We have here in the more popular, and more easily deciphered, colloquial style of the literature of the common people, a curious, and I think an unparalleled instance, of a phonetic system, in conjunction with, yet subordinate to, a more elaborate ideographic system, based on hieroglyphics. To understand the literature, it is in this case absolutely necessary to know the character in which it is written; but it is no easy task to explain this point, to those who are only acquainted with an alphabetic, or purely phonetic, writing. The peculiarity here consists in the fact that the eye is appealed to, and not the ear, and each character, or group of characters, convey distinct ideas, material or abstract as the case may be, totally independent of the phonetic value, to a greater or less extent. There is, however, a frequent inversion of sound (or phonetic value) and meaning (or ideographic value) that leaves room for the exercise of an extensive display of literary ability, and much pedantry. The composer has a wide scope, and if possessed of the necessary knowledge and ability, has command of a power of

expression, with wonderful depth of meaning, and numerous facilities for condensation of allusion and quotation, that is not only something surprisingly vast, but also totally impossible in a purely phonetic writing. This is well worthy of our earnest attention.

The official compilation of annals, and the collection of material for ancient records, stimulated literature in the fifth century; and when the manufacture of paper was introduced later on, learning became much more general, as would naturally be the case, paper being more readily obtainable than it was during the period whilst foreign supplies solely had to be depended upon.

It should be noted that the diffusion of knowledge amongst the people, was from the earliest times always kept prominently in view, by the statesmen and rulers of Old Japan; and that the men of to-day are not backward in this matter is a well known fact.

Official education, though no doubt ostensibly for the training of efficient public servants and officials, was a most useful means for fostering a love of learning amongst all classes of the people. A healthy spirit of emulation existed amongst aspirants for office and Imperial favour, stimulated by the competition for literary success and fame.

During the latter part of the seventh century some new phonetic characters were brought forward by Imperial mandate; and as at this time there was frequent intercourse with Corea, it is not easy to say whether these were Corean, or that Corea obtained these non-Chinese characters from Japan. There is

a striking similarity between the two systems, as shown by the specimens still extant; *Soka-ibe no Muraji Ishi-tsume* is the name of the person to whom the invention of these characters is attributed by native annalists.

Some earlier characters are said to have existed, but I am not in possession of sufficiently authentic particulars to make it worth while, even were it advisable, to enter upon the subject here.

From the seventh century, A.D., official positions and honours were freely bestowed upon persons eminent in literature; and libraries were formed for the purpose of facilitating study, and literary research.

Printing was introduced at this early period; it is stated that a Budhist Canon was printed the first (*Darani*).

In the thirteenth century, public libraries of an extensive character were founded; and later on, in settled times, and peaceful localities, circulating libraries were established by private enterprise.

The larger Institutions contained classical works, and the latter, as now, circulated principally the popular historical romances, collections of poems, legends and light literature, romances, stories of magic, wonder tales, Budhist literature, &c. These latter have been always written with an admixture of phonetics and Chinese characters, and in the same style of composition as the colloquial of the educated, with a few variations in the arbitrary

ruction of sentences, etc., and in the gram-
al inflexions.

inting, I should have explained, was by means
ood blocks, two pages usually being printed

at once, and the sheet folded, the fold being the edge of the volume, and on it the running title, No. of volume, chapter and page, etc., being printed.

In the fifteenth century moveable types, made of wood, were known, but do not appear to have been used to any very great extent, the facsimile of the author's MSS. being esteemed. Recently however, the fonts of types made for the Mission press have been largely supplemented, and the current literature, periodicals, and newspapers are mostly printed by those types now. A large number of types, amounting to several thousand, are requisite for a well furnished printing establishment, and the work of the compositor is no easy task, it may be credited.

In recent times there was a revival of the ancient Japanese literature, in conjunction with that of the study of "Pure Shin To" (or the Divine Path), the ancient creed. (*Vide* Mr. Satow's book thereon.)

In the latter part of the seventeenth century *Keichiu*, a Budhist priest, also *Kada no Adzuma-maro*, together with a pupil, *Kamo no Mabuchi*, studied the "true meanings" of the old Japanese, and devoted themselves to the examination of all available works on the subject.

Motonori Norinuga, a pupil of *Mabuchi*, *Murata*, *Kato*, and others continued the researches.

Hanawa Hokitchi established a school in *Bancho*, a district of Yedo, about A.D. 1793, but subsequently removed to South *Shinagawa;* he retired into private life about 1821, after having treated on 3,376 subjects, in 1,715 volumes. The school was continued down to recent times.

This modern revival is curiously coincident with our own very recent revival of the study of Cornish, Welsh, and other old dialects, folk lore, etc., and other antiquarian and archæological enquiry. The ancient Japanese literary style seems to have been, so far as can be judged now, possessed of rich ornamentation, and to have been harmonious in sound, and graceful. The older lyrics are in their style very florid, as may be seen in the *Koden* (Ancient Records) collections of legends, etc., in the *Notto*, the ancient songs of praise, of the Shinto pre-Budhistic faith. The *Semmio* (proclamations of ancient times) were written in large characters, with smaller characters interspersed as auxiliaries, to denote the grammatical inflections, etc.

In giving translations, together with some selections of the vernacular, I must candidly state that I have failed to fully satisfy myself, for when I translated first word by word, then took each sentence, and again the whole piece, and finally essayed to condense the result, to the limits of the original, much of the meaning either became altogether omitted or obscurely rendered in the process.

I have but rarely seen satisfactory work in translation; however, craving indulgence, I must refer to the educated Japanese for more satisfactory rendering, of the meaning of this beautiful old time, prose and metrical composition.

The following is a "paternoster" of the ancient faith, the *Sninto* or *Divine Ptha*, that I have essayed to "do" into English.

SAI-YO NO ON HARAI.

Ta-ka-ma no ha-ra ni to-do-ma-ri-ma-shi-ma-su. Su-me mu-tsu ka-mi ro-gi ka-mi ro-mi no mi-ko-to wo mo-tsu-te. Ho-na-tsu no-tsu-to no fu-to no-tsu-to no ko-to no-re-ka-ku no-ra-ba tsu-mi to i-u ts-u-mi to-ga to i-u to-ga wa a-ra-ji mo-no wo to ha-ra-i ta-ma-ye ki-yo-me ta-ma-fu to mo-u-su ko-to no yo-shi wo mo-ro mo-ro no on ka-mi ta-chi sa-wo shi-ka no ya-tsu no on mi-mi wo fu-ri ta-te-te ki-ku shi-me-se to mo-u-su.

High celestial plains, wherein abide myriads of spirits most supreme. Most gracious, all powerful. In substance godlike, in intellect divine. To whom are offered up these songs of praise. Freedom both now and ever more, from sinfulness and guilt, deserving punishment, is craved. Pureness of thought, nobility of deed, prosperity and bliss bestow. Hosts of divines, oh stay thine ears, give heed to these our songs of Praise.

The *Ise Monogatari* and *Taketori Monogatari* are said to have existed before the more authentic *Tosa Nikki* of *Kino Tsurayuki*. These were written in the hybrid style, that is still to some extent perpetuated in the official documents, and the complimentary correspondence of the educated. There are a great many highly esteemed works of the various periods ; and the numerous catalogues of books, and lists of noted authors, are very voluminous.

Poetry being the most esteemed by the high born, well educated, and intellectual native, we may take it next in order. Recently a valuable addition has been made to our knowledge of ancient Japanese

poetry, and from the information contained therein, and Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain's very generous gift of books to the Asiatic Society, the student may gain some slight idea of the extent of the material yet awaiting the translator.

I would, however, strongly recommend the student to compare the originals with any translations that appear, for such are not always entirely satisfactory, from the fact that there are few foreigners who possess the knowledge of the native literature, and at the same time the necessary ability to faithfully render the originals. Creditable though the work already done may be, it is not perfection, and often fails to give the reader the full and true sense, and depth of meaning, of the originals.

Some years ago, I made a collection of a number of the most esteemed compositions of the poets of Old Japan, arranged chronologically; and I had hoped thus to be able to compare the work of the various periods, and to study each in detail, and eventually to essay a translation with notes, but the want of sufficient leisure precluded my completing this project.

The popular form is a verse, composed of five lines, divided into an upper portion of three lines of five, seven, and five syllables, or seventeen in all, and a lower portion of two lines of seven syllables, each of fourteen syllables, together thirty-one syllables.

The lines of five and seven syllables alternately are very popular for longer compositions, but there are other forms, some derived from the Chinese, and some evidently purely indigenous.

The thirty-one syllable poems are often written on beautifully artistic slips of ornamental paper, fourteen inches long and about three broad. The collection of one hundred verses are in this form. Some are written on square, and on quaintly shaped forms.

Honka is a variation of the foregoing, but read somewhat differently.

Zootoka is also similar, but demands an impromptu response in a like poetic strain.

Sei do oka is also similar in form, but the beginning and ending must be with characters synonymous, though not necessarily of similar sound.

Kioka is a variation of the ordinary thirty-one syllable poem.

Omugayashi is like *Zootoka*, excepting that in the response only *one* character, whether of one or more syllables, must be changed, so as to form a response; herein consists the merit, and it is a somewhat severe test to the ability and erudition of those engaged in these friendly literary encounters, of which the Japanese gentry have been always extremely partial.

Oriku is something of an acrostic, the first syllable of each line being given arbitrarily, upon which to form the composition.

Hai Kai contains much verbal play, and the inversion of sound and meaning is frequently had recourse to in order that a double meaning of a poem may be possible.

In *Renga* the upper portion of three lines is answered by the addition of the lower two lines.

These latter two are called *Tsukeai*, "Matching or Pairing together," or joining verses.

Hokku consist of poems of five, seven, five, or seventeen syllables.

Sen riu is also of seventeen syllables.

Nine, six, and eight syllable verses are to be met with. A few specimens may suffice to illustrate this part of the subject, without entering into further details.

The earliest poem is attributed to *Sosa-no-o no mikoto*, who rescued a maiden, destined to be the annual propitiating sacrifice to the eight-headed demon dragon of the mountains, and as his reward she became his spouse.

Ya ku-mo ta-tsu	(5)
I-dzu-mo ya-ye-ga-ki	(7)
T'su-ma go-mi ni	(5)–(17)
Ya-ye-ga-ki tsu-ku-ru	(7)
So-no ya-ye-ga-ki wo	(7)–(14)
	(31)[1]

The literal translation but faintly reproduces the valorous meaning of the original, that, from its being composed on the occasion of the rescue, it might be supposed to contain—

Myriad clouds amassed
  Round Idzumo craggy heights
The maiden placed within
  A strong fence round her raised
That doth from harm protect her.

The allusion in the original being to the cloud clad heights, and the strong arm of the rescuer, who for the future is her protector and lover.[2]

[1] *See* Folk Lore Society Record, vol. i. Japan Folk Tales.

[2] Sir Edward Reed has done me the honour not only to quote my translation of this and some other matters, but he has also

Mr. Aston has rendered the same idea in somewhat different words.

Many ancient and modern celebrities are credited with poems, and innumerable pieces are founded on mythological, legendary, and historical incidents that are widely known and popular.

When the shrine of the "Mother of Japan," *Tenshoko Dai Jingu*, was removed, it is related that the divine spirit descended to earth, and composed a farewell poem, addressed to the people of the locality.

To *Jin mu*, B.C. 660, is ascribed one of fifty-two syllables (of five, seven, five seven, five six, five, six, seven—or four of five, three of seven, and two of six—syllables).

One of the ordinary five line thirty-one syllable verses, may be read in ten different ways, by transposition of the five lines comprised—it is attributed to one of the three great poets called

Kaki no moto no hito maro.

1 Ho-no-bo-no-to
2 A-ka-shi no o-u-ra
3 A-sa gi-ri-ni
4 Shi-ma ka-ku-re yu-ku
5 Fu-ne no shi-dzu-o mo.

These literary curiosities are often to be met with in Japanese literary prose, and metrical composition.

Many of the popular pieces are to be seen

acknowledged his sources; many who have freely cribbed from the numerous contributions of the earlier workers in this field, have failed to thus honestly acknowledge the original source of their material.

accompanied by a sketch, and the conventional forms of these sketches are well understood by the Japanese; they are a fruitful source of art motive in decorative design, so that even the poorest may be seen surrounded with sketches that are suggestive of the literary gems of the country.

A sketch most frequently to be met with is that of a branch of the early blossoming plum, on which is perched a little bird. This is in allusion to the following poem:—

Ha-ru sa-me ni	(5)
Shi-p-po-ri nu-ru-ru	(7)
U-gu-i-su no	(5)
Ha-ka-se ni ni-yo wo	(7)
U-me-ga ka no	(5)
Ha-na ni ta-wa-mu-re	(7)
Shi-wo ra-shi ya	(5)
Ko-to-ri de sa-ye-mo	(7)
Hi-to su-ji ni	(5)
Ne-gu-ra sa-da-mu-ru	(7)
Ki ga hi-to-tzu	(5)
Wa-ta-sh'a u-gu-i-su	(7)
Nu-shi wa u-me	(5)

* * * * * *

Ya-ga-te O-shi-ku-bai	(7)
Ja-wa-i-ja na	(5)

In early spring
With fluttering wing
The nightingale,
The flowers perfume
Of fragrant plum
Scents on the breeze.

Too entranced to roam
Oblivious to all but one,
Tho' but a tiny bird
A faithful heart
And single mind.
I would I were the nightingale
And you the sweet plum flower,
To sip the nectar from the bud
As those best can who love.

* * * *

The son of the Emperor on his return from the north victorious, early in the second century, thus addressed one of his retainers.

Ni-i ba-ri ya
Tsu-ku-ba wo i-de-te
I-ku ya ka ne-tsu-ru
Ka-ga-ne-ye-te

Since o'er the paths
Of Tsukuba hill we went,
How many nights
Have we in slumber spent,
Count them.

The impromptu reply was :—

Yo ni wa ko-ko-no ya
Hi ni wa to-o-ka wo

Nights there were nine
Days there were ten.

There is a play on words, quite beyond a possibility of rendering, without the Chinese, and elaborate explanation.

The scholar who crossed over from Corea, during

the latter part of the third century, to teach the Emperor's son, is said to have composed this poem :

Na-ni wa dzu ni
Sa-ku-ya ko-no ha-na
Fu-yu go-mori
Ima wa ha-ru be to
Sa-ku-ya ko-no ha-na

In the city of waves of flowers
The lovely blooming plum
In winter had not budded.
But now the spring has come
The trees are blossom studded.

The second and fifth lines read alike, but have a different meaning, which can be but vaguely rendered in English.

The ladylove of an Emperor of the fifth century grew weary of waiting his promised visits ; noticing a little spider suspended by its web from the ceiling, the following impromptu suggested itself to her :

Wa-ga se-ko ga
Ku-be-ki yo-i na-ri
Sa-sa ga-ni no
Ku-mo no fu-ru-mai
Ka-ne-te shi-ru-shi mo

That lover of mine
To night is surely coming
For the little crabbed way
In which this spider moves
Must doubtless have such meaning.

A specimen of popular *nagauta*, long intoned recitation, is called *Oi Matsu*, (pine tree).

Shin no shi ko,
Mikari no toki,
Ten niwaka ni kaki kumori,
Tai yu shikirini furi shikaba,
Mikado ame wo shwogan to.

Ko matsu no kage ni
Tatchi yoreba
Kono Matsu tachi-machi tai boku to nari
Yeda wo tare ha wo kasane
Kono ame wo Morasaza nari

Shikaba Mikado
Tai yu to iu shaku wo
Kono matzu ni okuri
Tama ishi yori
Matzu wo Tai yu to mousu to kaya

Shin no Shiko
A hawking did go,
The clouds they lowered
Down the rain poured,
Ho, the Emperor must not get wet.

The old pine tree
Good shelter would be,
Beneath its shade did he go,
The branches bent and the leaves folded so
Through the leaves the rain did not get.

'Twas the Emperor's whim,
That the pine tree be given,
Of honours a deluge, in name,
This is just how it came
To be called "wait while the rain pours"
e'en yet.[3]

[3] Quoted by Mr. Dickens in his recent translations.

A sketch, occasionally seen on Japanese work, is that of a man in armour slaying a fabulous animal with an ape's head, a tiger's body and claws, and a serpent's tail. This was a monster that haunted an Emperor. (A.D. 1153.)

The brave man that slew it with an enchanted arrow was presented a sword, and raised to high honours.

At the presentation, the flight of a passing cuckoo suggested this impromptu—

Hoto to gisu
  Naomo kumoini
Igura kana

Yorimasa, who was not only a good marksman but also learned, immediately finished the couplet by answering —

Yumi hari tsuki no
Aru ni maka sete.

To his great credit as a man of ready wit as well as of valour. This may be rendered :—

The Cuckoo
  Up to the clouds
How does it soar?

The waning moon
Sets not at will.

But as the allusion is to Yorimasa, and his elevation to high Imperial favour, it may be taken thus :—

Like to a cuckoo
That high doth fly
How is it thus.

I only bent my bow
That's what sent the shaft.

Long, long ago a great chieftain of the Yedo district was "caught in the rain," and meeting a rustic maiden, asked for a rain cloak in a jesting way.

Here is her witty reply :—

Na-na ye ya ye
Ha-na wa sa-ke-do-mo
Ya-ma-bu-ki no
Mi-no no sto-tzu da ne
Na-ki ka-na-shi

Literally

Seven or eight petals
The flowers they bloom
The Keria Japonica
Bears neither fruit or seed
Naught, so sad.

Or,

I have not that which I can lend,
Tho' flowers bud and expand ;
In this lone mountain valley end,
There are no rain cloaks here to hand.
That there is not I grieve.

There is a personal allusion in the original, and a play upon words conveying a double meaning that cannot be concisely rendered.

Her ready wit obtained for the rustic beauty high position, and the influence gained was exercised by her to aid men of letters, who received much patronage through her intervention.

A popular verse is :—

U-me wa sai ta-ka
Sa-ku-ra wa ma-da ka-i-e-na
Ya-na-gi ya nai-no-nai-no
Ka-se shi-dai
Ya-ma-bu-ki ya uwa-ke-de
Iro ba-ka-ri
Shi-on-gai-na

The plum trees have blossomed,
The cherries not yet;
The willows sway,
As the winds direct;
The Keria (Japonica) inconstant
Love (and colour) affect
And oh, for it there is no help.

The following was composed by a Japanese gentleman[4] who formerly held a high official position, and who rendered me valuable aid in recent years, collating, correcting, and elaborating, the crude notes and gleanings of the earlier days of my residence in Japan.

Ya-ma-to- u-ta
O-shi-te shi-ra-ra-ru
A-zu-sa yu mi
Hi-ku ya sa-wa na-ru
S'hto ko-ko-ro-mo

Of Yamato's muse
A knowledge acquire ;
The bow strung for use
May bend at desire ;
The heart of the people also.

The next most important, and perhaps more widely popular, subject is the drama. The histrionic art

[4] Naka no Echizen no Kami.

deserves separate treatment, as well as the popular legends, wonder stories, and historical incidents, that form such a large proportion of the plots of the pieces dramatized.

The habitués of the Japanese theatre are just as conversant with the popular plays, as are our own theatre goers who have Shakespeare "off by heart."

The tale of the 47 Loyal Retainers has been made familiar to us by Mr. Mitford and Mr. Dickens.

Soga, a tragedy, is the revenge of the murder of their father by two brothers. The scene is laid in the twelfth century.

Sendai Hagi, founded on the attempts to poison the heir of a great prince; the foster-mother sacrificed her own child, substituting him for the real heir, a heroic act, highly esteemed.

Imo se Yama, the story of *Hinadori*, a beauty as fair as frail, and her lover *Koganosuke*, a tale of the sixteenth century.

Kagami Yama, a story founded on some palace intrigues. A pawnbroker's daughter was one of the ladies in waiting, who was plentifully supplied with money by her rich though plebian friends; another lady in waiting, the daughter of a proud and impoverished family, was jealous of the other; each of these had their own maids. The family of the lady by birth, as well as that of her maid, were deeply indebted to the pawnbroker.

In the quarrels that ensued the well-born girl challenged her rival to a trial of arms (for in those days the gentry taught their daughters the rules of fence, so that they might protect their honour in case of need). The maid of her of good birth, however,

took up the quarrel of her mistress. The virtuous and well born, of course, were victorious.

The wars of the rival factions, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, furnished a fruitful source of story to the "Harrison Ainsworths" and "Walter Scotts" of Old Japan.

Another tale of court intrigue, and the devoted loyalty of the retainer, is preserved in the story of *Sugawara no Michizane.*

The tale of the faithful *Yayegaki hime* relates how she treasured the portrait of her betrothed *Katzuyori*, and shed tears when she gazed lovingly upon it, grieved that she could not share his dangers and his hardships; when she heard of his death, the portrait was hung up and her devotions duly and regularly performed in its presence, but she pined away. He was not killed, however, and she soon regained her health. The parents were enemies, but the lover, anxious to meet his mistress, passed through many adventures and much danger in his endeavours. He succeeded in entering the service of her family as a gardener, aided by enchantment, and a fox, which he had in some way befriended, and which proved grateful. They were never married, and the end is very tragic, containing many pathetic scenes, that forcibly appeal to the sympathetic audience of Japanese.

There is a legend of a famous dog *Yatsubusa*, or the nine-tailed, which, being ordered by its master to bring him the head of his greatest enemy, made a compact that the reward for success should be *Fusehime* the beautiful daughter. The head was obtained, and the result a great victory; when the lady was claimed she fled to the hills, but stooping

at a well to drink, she saw only the reflection of a large dog; placing her Budhist rosary over her head, she was enabled to recognise her own features. *Fusehime* had a lover who, hearing of the matter, shot the dog, but she became a maniac, and committed suicide; her spirit gave birth to eight spirits, that flew to the four quarters of the world, and the four intermediate points, entering into eight children that were just born. The adventures of these eight are related by the author *Bakkin*, and the story is popular, as placed on the Japanese stage.

Inaka Genji is an adaptation of a story written by *Tanehiko*, relating the adventures and mishaps of a Japanese Don Juan, that amuse the native audiences immensely.

Hiza Kure Ge, or "Shanks Mare," is the account of the adventures of *Yajirobe* and his boon companion *Kidahatchi*, during a pedestrian trip between *Yedo* and *Miako*; it is full of broad jest and coarse humour.

There is the pitiful tale of the greengrocer's daughter *Osichi*, who fell in love, and wishing to see her lover, set fire to a house, thinking that was the only way to have the guard-gates opened, so that she might pass freely. The sequel shows that she has been the dupe of a band of robbers, they being punished in her stead.

Miage no shinobu is an interesting drama that exposes the many dreadful phases of the social evil, in its tale of a poor girl entrapped, but finally rescued.

Oshun and *Dembei* were two lovers who died in a loving embrace, rather than live apart.

The loves of *Choyemon*, aged 40, and of *Ohan*, a

little girl, are a source of much mirth to the Japanese, who ridicule unequal marriages.

A young girl, the daughter of an hotel keeper, fell in love with a priest; he fled across the river and hid himself from temptation under the temple bell. The power of her love and jealousy turned her into a dragon; winding herself round the bell, it became a molten mass, consuming both herself and her lover.

Stories of foxes taking the forms of beautiful women, and beguiling prince and peasant, are also numerous. As also of badgers, as handsome young men, who mislead frivolous maidens.

The Chinese element is constantly appearing, and it would be as difficult to free Japanese of this, as to entirely eradicate the Greek and Latin, from the writings of our own scholars.

Story telling hardly comes within the limits of this paper; there are, or rather were, numbers of professional story tellers, a sort of Japanese troubadore.

There are many Japanese stories that would furnish material for thrilling narratives; and human nature is very much the same all the world over, so that the heroic, the pathetic, the humorous, and the vile and wicked, are, of course, to be met with in Japan as elsewhere.

The superficial observer may essay to scoff and sneer at a people, his acquaintanceship with whom has not been to him a creditable experience. Yet I venture to affirm that in Old Japan there were maids, sweethearts, wives, and widows, capable of noble conduct, and actuated by sentiments worthy of being copied. There were men whose *manhood* would put to shame the modern

mannish individual of the period—miscalled "gentleman." Japanese were in most instances actuated by the true instincts of the gentleman, and after many a happy year's residence, I can make comparisons, conscientiously speaking, that are not always as favourable to my own countrymen, as to the people of Old Japan.

From *our* standpoint no doubt the people are far behind. Yet with all their faults there is much to love, much to sincerely admire, and perhaps not a little to condemn. *But can we cast the first stone?* Is our literature so pure, or our daily life so unselfish?

Amongst the popular authors of Old Japan the following deserve notice so far as space will permit :—

Kiosan, who was to Japan what Dean Swift was to our forefathers.

Kioden, whose tales we may compare to those of Smollett and Fielding ; too broad, perhaps, to bear a too literal translation, yet withal far superior to much of the somewhat too suggestive literature of our own day.

Ikku was a humorist of no mean talent, and he has many competitors.

Samba tried the same line as our own Thackeray, and levelled the keen shaft of ridicule at abuses and follies, not to his own personal advantage so much as to that of his own countrymen.

Hokuba was a veritable Wilkie Collins, whilst *Bakkin* wrote moral essays, or rather popular stories with moral intent. Some of his stories were laid in China, and he is to Japan what Scott was to the Land o' Cakes. There is many a good story told about this specimen of the Japanese Bohemian,

who like his brother nearer home, was one of the impecunious, for does not the Japanese wise saw say that "whilst the rich are stingy scholars are poor."

Tane hiko, the author of *Inaka Genji*, gives a very accurate picture of the life of Old Japan just before the country was re-opened in our own time. His too true picture drew down upon him the enmity of officials in power, and he was degraded from office.

Tane-naga Shin-Sui, and many others, wrote pieces for the stage.

Of the works most popular, time will only permit of a brief notice of a very few.

Sichi Ya Kura, or the pawnbroker's storehouse, and the adventures of the pledges, related by themselves, is a most interesting collection of odds and ends of family and national history. The assistant, who had been "on the spree," hid himself in the warehouse, and falling asleep was locked in for the night; waking up parched, hungry, and chilly, he thought he heard voices, and fearing that it might be robbers, he cautiously kept in hiding; by-and-bye, however, the pledges began to move about, and to take form, and became endowed with speech: they held a formal meeting and resolved themselves into a society of story tellers.

Folk lore students, antiquarians, and archæologists, would be delighted, no doubt, if here in "Old England" the transmigration of souls would take this practical form of disentangling the mazy thread of the story of many a curious thing.

Uji Shi u I Mono-gatari, is a collection of tales composed by a high official, who spent his vacation in managing a wayside resting place, where all

comers were welcome, and entertained free of charge, but each one must recount an adventure, or contribute some legend or bit of folk lore, or curious story, Japanese or foreign.

Inaka Zoshi,
Haku Sho Den,
Fu So O Ko To Ki,

and many other voluminous works, some of which it would take weeks to read through, were to be found in every circulating library, whilst the romances are almost as numerous and evanescent as our sixpenny, shilling, or three volume novel.

The "penny dreadful" has happily not yet reached Japan, but I regret to say the first years of popular journalism in Japan was marked by a deterioration in the tone of popular literature so pronounced that the government had, though most unwillingly, to interfere and call upon the Foreign Powers to support them.

Proverbial lore is abundant, of which the following are specimens :—

Go about like a cur, and run against the stick.
Argument after proof.
Flowers after cakes.
Scolding children makes them callous.
Bone breaking the loss, fatigue the gain.
Dust accumulates and becomes a mountain.
A cracked pot with a patched lid.
Through a small reed to view the firmament.
Good physic is bitter.
Firstborn (children) the greatest anxiety.
Be careful to be careful.
Crying faces are stung by wasps.
With joy comes sorrow.
Falsehood takes the road, truth hides.
From falsehood cometh out truth.

To give in and win.
None such bad writers as those that do not care to write.
The master's favourite red cap.
Hiding the head, and the tail left unconcealed.
The wen above the eye.
From the blade exudes rust.
Ignorant bliss.
The poor are without leisure.
Dream of Kioto. Dream of Osaka.[5]

That there is much that can be copied I would not venture to affirm; that we can learn something, however, I do most sincerely believe. In every civilization, the deep thinker may find much food for earnest thought, and perchance practical results may accrue. To the astrologer and alchymist we owe much, more than we often willingly acknowledge. Yet it is passing strange that although we here in England, and Londoners more particularly, have vast interests at stake in these far off lands, there is hardly anywhere so difficult to arouse interest, or where so little is known of these far off countries. Whilst I ride my own hobby I hope others will put forward information regarding the country each knows best of. There are some like myself who have a hobby, I am most grateful to mine, it has often occupied much time that otherwise might have been wasted or perhaps misused. I freely acknowledge that the object I have in pushing my hobby is a selfish one to some extent; cut off from further research—amongst the natives—I have been desirous of stimulating those who have opportunities, to push

[5] *See* "Fuso Mimi Bukuro," by C. P. (Trubner) for the Japanese originals of these.

those enquiries, that I would have been delighted to pursue, whilst using my own little gleanings as a bait to such to follow up this interesting line of investigation.

One important point dawned upon me years ago. Whilst the Chinese had stopped short, many centuries ago, the Japanese had made a step, and only a step, in advance, by the introduction of phonetics, I would go further. Whilst spelling reform advocates have been uselessly haggling over trifles, whilst the advocates of a universal language have wasted their energies to no purpose, I would wish that it be remembered that hitherto we have been treated as blind persons, the power of the eye has been ignored. Whilst telegraphy, steam, and a thousand and one things in science and mechanics have tended to progress, we still lag in this matter of reducing our thoughts to writing, still adhering to the old slow cumbrous process that even shorthand is but an imperfect remedy for. Let us begin where the Chinese stopped short, and cast off all preconceived notions, investigating the matter from an entirely fresh point of view. In speaking of Chinese and of Japanese, I do not for a moment propose the adoption of that system, but I admit that it was whilst working at the Chinese and Japanese, translating, with Rogets' Thesaurus in my hand, that an idea occurred to me that has day by day gained strength and conviction. The more I heard of the advocates of spelling reform, and universal language, the more I became convinced that something else must be tried. I would strike at the root of the matter, and have a

universal writing that would appeal to the eye of all. Let each nation have its own language and own indigenous literature, and instead of a multitude of languages, one common system of written communication, based upon a practical and scientific method, wherein simplicity, and freedom from possibility of error, would be attained. It would be no more difficult to retain in the visual memory a number of set forms than it is now to remember the *correct* spelling of many thousands of words, together with the various meanings of certain words spelled alike and those very nearly so, to say nothing of those spelled differently with the same sound. Further explanation of how I propose to do this must now be deferred.

My intention was not to give an exhaustive account of Japanese literature, but rather to excite attention to it with a hope that other and more able enquirers may follow up this wide, and as yet almost untouched, field of interesting literary research, the Popular Literature of Old Japan.

[For further particulars, *see* Papers by C. P., in Folk Lore Record.
Journal Society of Arts.
Transactions of Birmingham Philosophical Society.
„ „ Royal Historic Society.
„ „ Anthropological Institute].

THE LIVING KEY TO SPELLING REFORM.

BY F. G. FLEAY, M.A.

(Read November 24, 1880.)

BEFORE entering on the systematic exposition of the method, by which I propose to extricate spelling reformers from the dead-lock to which Dr. Ingleby reduced them in the valuable paper to which I was privileged to listen in this room, I think it desirable to lay before you a few considerations as to the reasons of the general rejection by the Press, and, indeed, by the public, of all schemes of reform hitherto proposed; especially of Mr. Pitman's Phonetic, Mr. Ellis' Glossic, Mr. Sweet's Broad Romic, and Professor March's American Notation. In doing this I shall have to notice various objections to such schemes, which I, in common with other objectors, hold to be valid against them, but which I, unlike the majority of these objectors, do not hold to be valid against spelling reform generally. I shall thus prepare the way for the exposition of my own plan: and if you find it open to similar objections, I must retire with the consolation that better men than myself have been equally foiled in this difficult problem; if, however, I am not thus vanquished, I shall still have to acknowledge that, had not the gentlemen I have named preceded me, I should not have been able to produce a solution, in which at

every step I have had occasion to refer to their publications on this and kindred matters. I am not aware of any further obligations on my part to my predecessors, except of course to Mr. A. Melville Bell's great work on Visible Speech. It must also be distinctly understood, that on this occasion, whatever I say is to be taken as simply my own, and that I in no way represent the English Spelling Reform Association; indeed I am not aware that even a single member of that body would endorse my views.

I would then propose the following general maxims for our guidance in forming a reformed alphabet:

1. That no new principle should be involved in it, unless it be previously shown that those already recognised in our present spelling are insufficient for the purpose; thus, until it has been proved that such digraphs as *ch*, *th*, *ng*, *sh*, *wh*, are inefficient, Messrs. Pitman's and March's new-letter schemes are not to be admitted: until it has been proved that digraphs are ambiguous or misleading, we must not reject them for the representation of long vowels in favour of either new types or types with diacritical marks.

2. Our new notation must lead up to our present one. Children will be taught the new notation, if one be adopted, and for a generation at least will have to learn the old one afterwards, for reading purposes, though not for writing. Any system then which gives, as Messrs. Sweet's and Pitman's do give, un-English sounds to the fundamental vowels, which base a new notation on the Continental sounds of *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, instead of on the sounds which have

historically become attached to those signs in our tongue, will entail unnecessary labour on the learner, re-introduce a pronunciation which has been absolutely however gradually rejected, and create a very wide etymological gap between the reformed and unreformed spellings: so wide indeed as to be impassable by the ordinary mind, if untrained in etymology and philology. The difference between the two spellings would indeed be analogous to that between Chaucer's pronunciation and our own; and I ask you, an audience of trained intellects, very different from the average newspaper reader, how many of you can say that in reading Chaucer you consciously reproduce his pronunciation, and how many of you, if his works were accessible only in a notation which should reproduce his pronunciation on 19th century principles, would ever read him at all.

3. A new notation should, in whatever changes it introduces, continue and extend changes already at work, in preference to instituting other changes of a nature previously unknown: in other words it should start by utilizing old methods as far as possible. This is not a mere repetition of my first principle; that refers merely to the spelling that exists, this to the changes which are actually now taking place in the spelling.

4. All writings in new notation ought to be legible at sight by any one who can read our existing books. Hence, if new letters are introduced at all, they should be so differentiated from present forms as at once to explain themselves; if accents are introduced, they should to the existing reader seem

merely to emphasize as it were the existing spellings; if any new mark of any kind is used, it should when omitted simply lead us back to the ordinary unreformed words, so that a child who passes from one system to the other should have nothing to unlearn. Here I feel sure lies the principal defect of alphabets hitherto proposed. Not only the new letters of Mr. Pitman, but digraphs like Mr. Ellis' *uo* in *puol* (pull) or Mr. Sweet's *yiw* for *you* are open to this objection, and are of themselves sufficient to prevent the adoption of their schemes by the public.

5. It is not advisable to attempt to introduce a spelling that shall be phonetic for writing purposes: nor if it were advisable would it be practicable. We have in our language at least two main systems of spelling long vowels and diphthongs. *a*. The simple *a e i o u* scheme which prevails mostly in words derived from the classical languages. *b*. The digraph notation which obtains specially in purely English words. *c*. We have also a small number of words based on the Continental pronunciation. Each of these has its advocates among leading reformers, there is no chance of compromise among them on this point. Reform is impossible, except provisionally by retaining each of these principles so far as it actually exists. I believe they would all consent to this. I only differ from them in maintaining that this provisional arrangement ought to be permanent, and that by this means we could retain really valuable etymological indications contained in our present spelling, viz., information whether a word is of Latin, or Greek, or English origin; or

whether it has had originally a different sound[1] from other words with which it is now levelled. Such information is desirable. The present etymological information, on the other hand, conveyed by silent letters is nearly always misleading on account of its irregularity, and should be abandoned. The existence of numerous homonyms in our speech also favours this view. I am very unwilling to give up the means of distinguishing them by differences in spelling. The main point, however, is this: that having these three different systems co-existing, no reduction of them to one system is satisfactory. Yet this is what all reformers have attempted except a few, who have produced schemes that are not phonetic for reading purposes, and are therefore next to useless for educational reform. The result has been that no consistent scheme has been printed, which does not at once strike the eye as strangely un-English and unsatisfactory. I may point out here that it is not the amount so much as the kind of difference that gives the impression of strangeness: one such notation as *w* for *u* or an *e* upside down, gives a more unfamiliar appearance to a scheme of spelling than an entirely new alphabet. Compare Mr. Sweet's Romic, for instance, with Greek words written in English letters or conversely. This is felt so strongly by the leading reformers, that they are now advocating partial schemes such as Mr. Ellis' Dimidian or Mr. Pitman's Semi-Phonography. Mine is also a partial scheme in one sense, viz., that

[1] Thus *oa* and *oo*, once levelled in the fourteenth century are now quite distinct. So *ei*, *ai*, and *ea*, *ee*, now levelled, may possibly become distinct again. At any rate they should not be heedlessly given up.

it is phonetic only for reading purposes, not for writing. I proceed to lay it before you without further preliminary talk. I begin with the consonants.

In common with all other reformers, I drop all silent letters, including the case of doubled letters, of which I omit one. I also use *h*, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, *b*, *d*, *g* (hard), *w*, *v*, *j*, *z*, *y*, in their usual significations: also the digraphs *ng* (writing *n'* in such words as an'ger) *wh*, *th*, *ch*, *sh*. But in contrast to most other reformers, I also keep *k*, *c*, *q*, *x*: *k* before *e*, *i*; *c* before *a*, *o*, *u*, and consonants; *qu* = *cw*; and *x* = *cs*. At the end of words I write *c*, not *k*; the tendency of the language being shown in *music*, *pedantic* (which have replaced *musick*, *pedantick*), and all words of more than one syllable. I extend this to monosyllables also. I retain *c* before *e*, *i*, side by side with *s* and *ph* along with *f* wherever they exist at present. That *f*, *s*, will ultimately survive alone, I have little doubt; but I do not see the use of upsetting all our dictionaries and books of reference by the premature introduction of a reform of so little importance, jeopardizing the whole cause for at best a matter of very doubtful propriety.

There still remains the great stumbling block of spelling reformers, the representation of the sound *th* in *thine*. This has from the earliest periods been represented by *th*, the thorn letter which replaced it in Anglo-Saxon, and remained in use till the 14th century, having been at the introduction of printing unequivocally rejected. It has been attempted in various ways to modify the *t* in a *d* direction, either by writing *dh*, or by using a new type formed on a *d* basis: I believe that no spelling which rejects the

t can succeed for literary purposes, and therefore retain in ordinary books *th* in two senses, as in the words *thin*, *then*; but I use *dh* for the latter sound in all educational and scientific books.

Of course the sound of *si* in *vision* would, following the same analogy, be written *zh*, as proposed by Mr. Ellis.

Having now reached the end of the exposition of my consonantal system, we will look back and consider the general effect of it on the appearance of printed books. I have had an essay of my own printed in this spelling,[2] and submitted it to readers of various classes, spelling reformers, persons acquainted with various languages, but not with phonetic as a science, and ordinary readers, young and old. I find that they almost all say that final *j*, *v*, *z* is unpleasant in its novelty, and that the spelling *sh* in the terminations *tion*, *tial*, *tience*, &c., looks ugly and out of place. I quite agree with them, and will consider these points in order. Without final *j*, *v*, *z*, a reform is impracticable; the need for it arises in this way. There was till 1625, no distinction made between *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*; consequently, it was a principle in our orthography tacitly adopted to prevent absurd mistakes that *u* and *i* should not be pronounced as consonants unless they preceded a vowel: how this influenced our vowel spelling we shall see presently; it influenced our consonant spelling by excluding consonantal *i* and *u* (*j* and *v*) from the end of words and compelling

[2] That is in my scheme as first propounded; it has been revised since, and I think improved.

the writing of some substitute in their place. Hence our spellings in *ge* for *j*, *y*, for *i* and *ve* for *v*. After the differentiation of *v* and *u*, *i* and *j*, in 1625, these should have been abolished ; but unfortunately printing offices existed, and the reform which would doubtless have been complete, had the tendencies of the language had full play, remained unfinished and abortive. It remains for us to add the tower to the edifice of the 16th century architects ; then we shall have a perfect building. With regard to *z* the case is different. It was not an Anglo-Saxon letter ; neither was it a Latin letter. It is merely a differentiated *s*, borrowed from the Greek just as *v* and *j* are differentiated *u* and *i*, and *w* is differentiated *v v*. It is true that only by such differentiation have new letters grown in our language (and I venture to say only thus ought they to grow), but it is also true that they have been slow to gain full acceptance even when their existence is acknowledged. In the 14th century *z* sprang up ; in the 17th we find Shakespeare calling it an unnecessary letter, and Jonson saying that it is often heard amongst us, but seldom seen. It is actually omitted in Barret's *Alvearie* altogether. Hence our plural nouns and our verbs in the third person were written with *s* for *z* by the same persons who wrote *t* for *d* in the past forms of verbs. They had the logical courage to write *stript*, *ceast*, *laste*, for our *stripped*, *ceased*, *laced* ; but not to write *canz*, *bedz*, *mugz*. This led to all sorts of confusion : they tried writing *ce* as in *hence*, *pence*, &c., for *s*, but words in *se* remained ambiguous, and remain so to this day. For us there is no alternative, we must adopt final *z* as well as *j* and *v* or give up

reform. It would be hard to give, however, any valid reason for retaining a mass of anomalies, merely for so slight a difficulty as this.

With regard to *sh* for *ti, ci, si, ce,* &c., I sympathise strongly with anti-reformers, and should be greatly pleased if spelling reform should, as I believe it would, lead us back to the 16th century pronunciation of *pa-si-ence, o-ce-an, im-par-si-al, judi-ci-al.* At any rate, it is desirable that further change in this direction should be checked: *virchew* and *nachur* are bad enough; but when, as I gather from the publications of the American spelling reformers, one of their most distinguished philologists uses such phrases as the "*ejucashon* which *injuces virchew* in the *nachuh*" of the young, it is time to put on the drag; and this can only be done by exposing in its native hideousness the pronunciations that are growing up among us under the cover of a spelling, which in the words of its latest advocate, is in relation to speech "not only arbitrary and conventional, but entirely unessential" (Richard Grant White).

I come now to the vowel sounds: and begin with the short vowels; we have six sounds and five signs to represent them. In this instance, the normal spelling is ingenious, consistent, and unimprovable. In the series *rick, reck, rack, ruck, rock, rook,* we have the received system. I cannot, of course, pretend to have examined the entire language, but by aid of Mr. Pitman's Phonetic Spelling Book, I have examined the monosyllables, and find that only 104 out of 1,413 are spelled on any other plan. We have then merely to regard *oo* as a simple letter to get a perfect short vowel notation, and the various

devices of new letters, accented letters, or new digraphs such as Mr. Ellis' *uo* and *uu* become unnecessary. We shall see presently that such words as *zoology* offer no exception on my plan.

So far, then, we have tolerably fair sailing: but we have yet to treat of the great difficulty—the long vowels and diphthongs. The pronunciation of these has changed so much in comparison with short vowels and consonants as to cause much greater difficulty in their treatment. I find, for instance, that in Mr. Sweet's "History of English Sounds," the history of these 10 sounds occupies two-thirds of the book, the remaining 31 sounds requiring only half the space.

I shall not enter on the history of these long vowels here, as I am shortly to read a paper on that subject to another Society. It must suffice to point out that while our digraphs have changed their pronunciation in two definite directions, the central vowel *å* being the point for which divergence takes place, our monographic long vowels have also changed in two unsymmetrical streams, the vowel *ô* not *å* being the point of rest. Besides this, the digraphs *ea*, *ee* have been levelled as well as *ei*, *ai*, so as to become equivalent to *e* and *a*. The result is that out of 1,543 monosyllables 1,356 are represented by the following scheme of spellings.

For the sound of *a* in *father*, a or aa.
„ „ *au* „ *laud*, au or aw.
„ „ *oa* „ *load*, ow, oa or o.
„ „ *oo* „ *moon*, oo.
„ „ *ou* „ *loud*, ou.
„ „ *eu* „ *feud*, eu, ew or u.

For the sound of *ai* in *laid*, ai, ei or a.
„ „ *ea* „ *lead*, ea, ee or e.
„ „ *i* „ *glide*, i.
„ „ *oi* „ *oil*, oi.

It must be understood that *i* final, being inadmissible in our present spelling, it is for either simple or compound signs of long vowel or diphthong written with *y*. This *y* does not occur except at the end of syllables. A similar restriction does not hold for *w* in *aw, ow, ew*, which may be used in any part of a word, nor does it apply to *y* for short *i*, which may be used anywhere for Upsilon in words of Greek origin.

It is at this point that the dead-lock in Spelling Reform comes in. We have not only in our received orthography two distinct notations for long vowels, one with monographs, one with digraphs, existing side by side, but we have also two distinct and unsymmetrical notations, one for long and one for short vowels expressed by the letters *a, e, i, o, u*. The simplest method of avoiding this would appear to be to drop the long vowel monographs altogether, and use only digraphs, which would lead to Mr. Ellis' Glossic. But this is very unsatisfactory in its notation of words derived immediately from Latin. Another method is to adopt new letters or accented letters only. This leads to Professor March's scheme or to Mr. Pitman's, and is as unsatisfactory with regard to words of Anglo-Saxon origin as Mr. Ellis' is for words from the classical languages. I propose to keep both series just as they stand in our present spelling, distinguishing the long from the short vowels by an acute accent on a separate type

such as is used in our dictionaries. I thus obtain the minimum of alteration possible consistent with the production of a spelling that shall be for reading purposes essentially phonetic. As, however, the number of accentual marks thus introduced is very great, I retain also another device from our received orthography, that of the final *e* mute ; under this rule : Wherever an accent would occur on a final syllable omit it, and write an *e* at the end of the word. In monosyllables ending with a vowel the accent is quite superfluous, and may be omitted without possible ambiguity. The spelling thus resulting I have tested in a tolerably long paper printed in the Phonetic Journal, and the only point in it which appears strange in principle to those who have examined it for me is the class of plurals like *platse*, *apse*, *broodze*, *babze* (plates, apes, broods, babes) ; but any one can write *pla'ts*, *a'ps*, *broo'dz*,[3] *ba'bz* if he prefers it ; and the analogy of the old spellings *groovde*, *lavde*, &c., shows that such a method is not foreign to our etymology, but only seems so from the absurb levelling of all our past verbs in *ed* by our grammarians in imitation of the unfortunate levelling of all our plural nouns in *s*. In any case these not very frequent words are a trifle as compared with the difficulties of any other system yet seen by me.

I must here anticipate two objections : one that the accents would be a hindrance in writing, the other that they would deface the appearance of printed books. To the first objection I answer that I would not write the accents at all, but indicate

[3] I may remind the reader here, that *oo* is treated as a simple vowel not as a digraph in my system.

them by a slight change in the shape of the preceding letter, which I could show you if I had a black-board at my disposal. To the second I answer that it would be quite unobjectionable for any one to omit accents altogether in works that are purely literary, provided they be distinctly recognized as a necessary part of the orthography in all educational treatises and books of reference.

As to such words as *pique, fête, régime,* and the like, on which the anti-national section of spelling reformers rest their argument for the adoption of Continental sounds for our vowels, I would either italicize them as not yet naturalized, or I would adopt them into the English family in an English dress. I see no reason for not writing *masheen* when we do write *shagreen* ; or for admitting *genteel* and rejecting *anteec.* A third course is, however, open, viz., to write such words with an accented letter, thus *pîc, fêt,* &c. In any case I care personally very little for these words, and leave them for others to deal with. I feel that to inflict further details on you would be wearisome ; with less than those I have given I could not explain the nature of my plan, which I believe attains the following desiderata :—

1. With a minimum of alteration it gives us a system of spelling in which there are no two sounds for any one symbol, and which consequently is absolutely phonetic for reading purposes.

2. The alterations made are of such a character that a child in passing from the proposed system to the present one would have nothing to unlearn.

3. The alterations are such that any one who can

read the present orthography can read the proposed one at sight.

4. It preserves the etymology and history of the language in a greater degree than any proposed scheme, especially by maintaining the distinction of the long monographic vowels of classic origin from the Anglo-Saxon digraphs.

5. It introduces no novelty of method, no foreign notation, no picture type, or new-fangled modifier. It confines itself for its enlargement of the alphabet to one long-recognized accent applicable to the marking of stress as well as length to vowels of any kind.

Such are my claims for this system founded on the work of my predecessors Ellis, Sweet, Bell, in as far as general investigations, phonetic or historic, are concerned, and only original in this one thing, that instead of considering *à priori* what the spelling ought to be, I started from statistical considerations based on what it is now, and I believe that an extended comparison of my plan with others will bear out my results.

In conclusion, I have only, while thanking you for your patient attention to this heavy dissertation on a necessarily dull subject, to express my full conviction that many foreign and English gardeners who have undertaken the culture of the unsymmetrical yet majestic tree of English orthography have failed, because they have mistaken its nature and its habitat. The orange or the poplar are more symmetrical, the yew and the box will bear trimming and even carving into shape; but our English oak is filled with northern sap and is stubborn in its

growth; it spreads its arms on every side, but they are gnarled and knotty with the accidents and changes of years; it will shelter young saplings beneath its shade, and here and there allow some sprigs of mistletoe to be nourished by its heart juice: but an oak it is and an oak it will be, do what we will; we may cut off its dead branches and train some of its recent shoots into graceful shapes, but its main arms are too hard to be bent like vine tendrils, and it cannot be pollarded like a willow. Some of us may desire for it the stateliness of the palm or the luxuriance of the banyan; but for me I cannot forget that I have climbed among its branches and rested under its shadow: reason and sentiment alike protest against its deformation by the removal of its limbs, and still more strongly forbid its being hewn down by the axe in order to plant an exotic in its place.

Postscript.

When this paper was read, Mr. Ellis subjected it to a most severe criticism; his objections amounted to this: that he could tolerate no scheme that was not phonetic for teaching to spell as well as for teaching to read, and that no etymological or historical considerations could be allowed the slightest weight in the matter. As it was impossible for me to answer in ten minutes the powerful speech of Mr. Ellis, which lasted nearly half-an-hour, not to mention other speakers on the same side, I may be allowed to add a few words here. Mr. Ellis' arguments are those of a phonologist, and from his point of view and for his special purposes are irrefutable. For investi-

gating minute dialectical differences of pronunciation, for comparing the speech sounds of different nations, for missionary purposes, for researches in comparative philology, such alphabets as Ellis' (Glossic), Pitman's, Sweet's, Melville Bell's, are each in their own way excellent. But from the schoolmaster's point of view they are worthless. What I want is a spelling that can be taught easily and yet serve as an efficient introduction to existing books. This I believe my scheme accomplishes in its lately revised form, for since I read this paper I have given up my new letter *ɦ* (turned *y*) and adopted *dh zh* for *th sh* in teaching books, dropping *dh* afterwards for literary purposes. This, as well as my giving up â, ê, î, ô, û, I gladly acknowledge to be the result of Mr. Ellis' arguments.

But on the one important point which is, in fact, the *only* serious objection to my scheme, I cannot give way. It seems impossible to make a *perfectly* phonetic scheme which shall serve as an efficient introduction to our present spelling, for learning to spell is a matter of eye memory and not of ear. What we really recollect is the picture and not the separate letters of a word. If we do give children a spelling in which the look of the words is very different from that in present orthography, we must either unnecessarily increase the labour they have to go through to a great extent, or we must confine them to books in the new spelling. This unnecessary labour I maintain to be greater than that involved in learning the additional spellings involved in the few alternative signs which I propose: Mr. Ellis maintains the contrary, and nothing but

experiment can decide between us. Let us, however, examine the scheme proposed by Mr. Ellis in opposition to mine, viz.: his "Dimidiun" system.

The following letters are used alike in Mr. Ellis' *Dimidiun* and my *Victorian* schemes:—*r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, *b*, *d*, *g*, *wh*, *f*, *th*, *sh*, *w*, *r*, *dh*, *zh*, *z*, *y* (as a consonant); *a*, *e*, *i* (*y*), *o*, *u*, *aa*, *au* (*aw*), *oi* (*oy*). The difference between the schemes for other sounds will be evident from the following table of examples:—

Victorian.	Dimidiun.
Sing, *an'ger*, *ink*.	*Sing*, *angger*, *ink*.
k before *e*, *i*.	*k* before *e*, *i*.
c before *a*, *o*, *u*.	*c* before *a*, *o*, *u*.
qu, as at present.	*qw*, for present, *qu*.
ck, *cqu*, rejected.	*ck*, *cqw*, after strong *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.
*s*ail, e*x*tend, e*x*ampel.	*s*ail, e*x*tend, *igz*ampul.
c before *e*, *i*, retained where now in use.	*c* before *e*, *i*, rejected where now in use.
*ch*est, ma*ch*,	*ch*est, ma*tch*.
*j*est, e*j*.	*j*est, ed*j*.
g*oo*d.	g*uu*d.

feud	..	*few*	..	mu'table		feud	..	few	..	meutablé.
pout	..	how	..	——		pout	..	how	..	——
——		——	..	boo'ty	..	——		——		booty.
goat	..	*blown*	..	mo'tiv	..	goat	..	*bloan*	..	moativé.
paid	..	paying	..	——		paid	..	paying	..	——
——		whey	..	pa'rent	..	——		whay	..	pairent.
peal	..	peel	..	comple'ter		peel	..	peel	..	compleeter.
heit	..	*ei*..	..	fi'nal	..	heit	..	ey	..	feinul.

For 27 sounds, then, these schemes coincide, and the only important differences in the other 13 sounds are—

1. My use of *a'*, *e'*, *i''*, *o'*, *u'*, *oo'* for teaching purposes, which enables me to retain a very large amount of present spelling in printed books, and to get a good sign *oo* for Mr. Ellis' *uu* in g*uu*d.

2. My temporary retention of *ea*, which on Mr. Ellis' own showing occurs oftener than *ee*.

3. That I allow a mute *e* final to be used in place of my accent in words accented on the ultima, as mat*e*, met*e*, mit*e*, mot*e*, mut*e*, moot*e*, abat*e*, delet*e*, incit*e*, devot*e*, disput*e*, uproot*e*. Whether these differences are things desirable or not, I beg to suggest that they do not justify the proposer of such spellings as *cqw* in a*cqw*ies (acquiesce), *uu* in st*uu*d (stood), *oa* in *Oa*th*oa* (Otho), in his sweeping condemnation of a scheme which is in three-quarters of its extent identical with the *present* version of his own Dimidian. There is really but one point of difference: where Mr. Ellis allows two symbols for one sound he does so in accordance with fixed phonetic rules; where I allow them I do so in accordance with the historical etymology of the word as indicated in the existing orthography.

ON THE ROLL CONTAINING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LIFE OF SAINT GUTHLAC IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., HON. LIBRARIAN.

(Read December 22, 1880)

SOME notes on the principal details of the remarkable and well-known roll in the Harley Collection of MSS. in the British Museum, containing pictures in the life of St. Guthlac, will probably be of interest to the Royal Society of Literature. The manuscript is of vellum, and measures nine feet in length by six inches and a half in width, containing eighteen circular panels filled with drawings in brown or faded black ink,[1] heightened with tints and transparent colours lightly sketched in with a hair pencil, in the prevailing style of the twelfth century. The left hand side of the first vignette is, unfortunately, lost; and I am inclined to think that one picture at least, if not more than one, as well, is wanting at the beginning of the series.

This roll, the work of a monk of Crowland, perhaps of the celebrated Ingulph, the ingenious literary abbot of that monastery, stands unique in its place as

[1] The pictures of this roll have been reproduced by steel or copper-plate, very badly executed, in J. Gough's "History of Crowland," 1783; in "The Antiquaries' Museum," by Jacob Schnebbelie, Draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries, London, 4to., 1791; and in J. Nichol's "History of the County of Leicester," vol. iv, part i, 1807, pp. 1—7.

an example of the finest Early English style of free-hand drawing of the period to which I have assigned it. From the boldness and precision of the lines, which are in a dark bistre, and thicker than those mostly used in drawings of that age, there is a general belief that the illustrations were originally intended as designs for the preparation of painted glass windows. The roll form somewhat confirms this idea. The history of Crowland records extensive building and alterations of the abbey fabric during the twelfth century, and it is quite within probability that the pictures form the design for the glass of that part of the abbey church in which the body of the patron saint was deposited. Curiously enough, another manuscript in the British Museum (Reg. 2 A. xxii), of a date not much later than the Harley Roll, contains, towards the end, an insertion of five drawings, tinted in the same way, and drawn with thick lines in such a manner that few will doubt their use as designs for painted glass. Other examples may be known, but I have not as yet met with any notices of them. The details of architecture, scenery, armour, costume, furniture, domestic implements, ecclesiastical vestments, and miscellaneous accessories, are naturally of the highest value to the archæologist, the historian, and the student of mediæval forms of art; while the fanciful portraiture of supernatural beings, saints and good and evil angels, with which several of the panels have been replenished, testify in no insignificant way to the excellent state of the pictorial conceptions of our ancestors, who, as we may readily perceive from these illustrations, had as acute a sense of proportion in art, and subtle humour

as we have in these later days of imitation and adaptation. As for the skill of the ancients in delineating the pious feelings that passed in their imaginations, no one will venture to dispute that phase of mediæval humanity. It will interest some to know that this priceless relic, this silent but yet eloquent fragment of a byegone art and history,—the work, in all probability, of many a peaceful hour in the scriptorium, or monk's study, at Crowland Abbey, in the dreary mist-wreathed fens of Lincolnshire,—was snatched from impending destruction, and deposited in the Harley Collection, but not before a portion of one, at least, of the pictures had been destroyed, and one or two of the later ones in the series mutilated and defaced.

Harley Roll, Y. 6.

I.

——— *Guthlaci.*

In the first vignette, the left hand side of which is wanting, we are introduced to the noble youth Guthlac, the son of Icles—a name perpetuated in the locally occurring surname Hickling[2]—and Tette. His birth was signalized by divine prodigies which presaged his future greatness and sanctity. Among others, there is recorded a supernatural appearance of a hand, which leaves a sign on the door of the house in which he was born, to the wonder of all beholders; and also a vision of a woman who rushes out of the house and declares his wondrous birth. In due time the babe is baptized and named Guthlac,[3] and his sweet disposition is dwelt on at length by his biographer. One of his traits is that he does not imitate the voices of birds like most youths

[2] Canon Moore, in Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. xxxv, 132.

[3] He may have acquired the name after becoming a monk, if so, Guthlac signifies "an offering in (Christian?) warfare," *i.e.*, in the conflict of Christianity against paganism.

of that period. "Non variorum volucrum diversas crocitus, ut adsolet illa etas, imitabatur." As time goes on he chooses a military profession, and for nine years, part of which appears to have been spent among the uncouth Britons,[4] enjoys an unbroken series of successes over his opponents. But suddenly, in the night, his resolve changes, and this forms the subject of the first picture. The strongly clamped doors are closed, the mailed warriors are grouped in sleep with armour on, around their leader, who alone reposes on a bed, his shirt of mail being hung upon a convenient bar overhead. The architectural details of the plain shaft with Norman capital, the roof-line terminating in a curled finial, the tiled roof secured by a central pin in each tile, are all distinct details of the period, and may be compared with advantage with other pictures of the same date. Guthlac himself, with bare head and short curly hair, clothed in a shirt of mail, reclines with his head on his hand near two upright spears. Of the sentence written above his head, the last word, "Guthlaci," only remains; perhaps "Somnium," "Conversio," or "Cogitatio," has been lost.

II.

Guthlacus recedit ab exercitu suo.

THE result of his cogitation is that he determines to relinquish the predatory life of a soldier of fortune, and devote the rest of his life to the service of the King of kings,[5] and desires his companions to choose another in his stead. This is the motive of the second scene. On the right, *Guthlacus*, draped in tunic, girdle, cloak, and stockings,—having put off his armour,—quits his armed host with horror and precipitation. On hilly broken ground to the left are grouped the

[4] His knowledge of their language stands him in good stead at a later period of his eventful life.

[5] Ingenuas vires adholescentiæ bellis exercuit et cetibus, ut sciret quid divinæ militiæ deberet conversus. Birch, *Memorials of S. Guthlac*, p. 71.

"*Commilitones Guthlaci*," four warriors in armour (consisting of a skull cap with nasal projection, a hauberk of ringed mail with continuous coif, belt or baldrick, and triangular concave shield slung over the shoulder by the guige or strap), and with long lance in hand. They are taking leave of their companion in an excited manner, the foremost with uplifted right hand and extended forefinger. On the extreme left are the foreparts of three chargers with saddles, which have the peculiar pommel seen upon twelfth century seals of the equestrian type. One of the shields is charged with a cross saltire, the others with a fleur-de-lis.

III.

Guthlacus tonsuram suscipit apud Rependune.

At the age of twenty-four he reaches the monastery of Rypadun, now Repton,[6] in Derbyshire, and receives the "mystical tonsure of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles," under Ælfðryð the abbess.[7] On this occasion he takes a vow of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, "excepto communicationis tempore."

This introduces us to the third cartoon. Under ecclesiastical architecture of a fine kind is a long seat with chequered cushion of transparent green, whereon are seated

[6] Guthlac appears to have left a bell at this abbey which afterwards acquired curative powers for headache, as we gather from MS. Cott., Cleopatra E. iv., f. 185 :—*Monasterium de Repingdon alias Repton: Superstitio.* "Hic fuit peregrinatio ad Sanctum Guthlacum et ad ejus campanam, quam solent capitibus imponere ad restinguendum dolorem capitis."

[7] Repton, Hreopandune, or Repandun, in Derbyshire, was, like many religious houses before the Norman descent in England, occupied by a mixed congregation of both monks and nuns, under rule of an abbess. It was founded before A.D. 660, and the date of Guthlac's admission by tonsure is variously given by different writers as about A.D. 697 or 699. The monastery was destroyed by the Danes.

the bishop, "ep[is]c[opus]," and the abbess, called "Ebba[8] abbatissa" in the picture, but "Ælfðryð" in the best MSS. of the Saint's life by Felix. The abbess is draped in conventual clothes, and holds a pastoral staff and a book with a curious tongue projecting from the cover. Behind her stand two attendant virgins in the attitude of vigilance and astonishment. The bishop,[9] with his mitre, pastoral staff, embroidered and fringed stole, and ample surplice, holds in his right hand a veritable pair of shears, such as may be seen at any sheep-shearing of the present time, with which he it cutting the hair from Guthlac's head. Guthlac himself kneels to receive the ancient and important rite[10] in the foreground of the picture, which is beautifully balanced by the art of the draughtsman, the abbess and her attendants looking on approvingly on the one side, counterpoised to the bishop and his acolyte, or deacon, holding the Service Book reverently in his surplice on the other. Over Guthlac's head is written

[8] There was an abbess Æbba in the isle of Thanet at the end of the seventh century. See Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, Nos. 8, 10, 14, 15, 989. Florence of Worcester, p. 44, says:—"Sanctus Guthlacus . . . monasterium Hrypandun adiit, ibique, sub abbatissa nomine *Alfthrytha* tonsuram et clericalem habitum suscepit."

[9] It is difficult to say who this bishop was. Perhaps it was Hedda, bishop of Lichfield, who is known to have occupied the see from A.D. 691, and subscribes from 693 to 706. Derbyshire, in which the monastery of Repton is situate, was in the see of Lichfield about this time, but the separation of the see of Leicester took place very near in point of date.

[10] The Cotton Roll xiii, 4, contains a curious arrangement for a service to be used at the time of giving tonsure. Walcott, in his *Sacred Archæology*, p. 581, gives many curious facts respecting the rite; he says:—"The little round on the top of the head is a modern abbreviation of the ancient tonsure, which embraced the whole upper part of the head." By the Jewish law priests and Levites were forbidden to shave their heads. Ezekiel xliv, 20; Lev. xxi, 5.

In the British Museum there is also a copper-plate, engraved with the device of a lion rampant, as old as the thirteenth century. It has attached to it a slip of parchment (Cotton Ch. xvi, 13), on which is written:—"Ista est mensura, seu forma coronarum officiariorum ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London, ex primaria fundacione ejusdem ecclesiæ [assi]gn[ata]; et per diversos venerabíles patres episcopes, decanos, et capitulum . . . . ste conformata et observata."

"Guthlacus," and the scene is described as at the heading of this paragraph. The dress of Guthlac thrown over a beam is of interest.

IV.

Vehitur Guthlacus Croilandiam.

For two years the novice applies himself to his religious exercises, and carries on his clerical life, but at length he desires to lead a solitary monkish life. He has heard of a marsh or fen not far from the stronghold called Gronta—perhaps Grantchester, near Cambridge. Another island, even yet more unfrequented, is mentioned by a bystander—Tatuuine or Tadwine—and sought out. Here we have the subject of the fourth cartoon.

The saintly youth is being conducted over the Fens in a punt to the desert island of Crowland[11] by his friend and companion "Tadwinus,"[12] who is using a paddle to steer the fore-and-aft prowed punt, while the attendant at the prow is using a pole to assist in propelling the vessel to the bank of the marsh, the vegetation of which is here indicated by two elegantly drawn trees of conventional foliage. In the green-tinted shallows below the boat five fish are seen disporting themselves. The swelling sails overhead, the mast, the yard, the pulley-ropes, the anxious look of the faithful Tadwine, who is evidently in command of the expedition, and, above all, the serene countenance of the Saint, who, with book in hand, and earnest upcast gaze, is manifestly absorbed in meditation, and thinking of other and higher things, combine to form one of the most beautiful illustrations of the life of our forefathers in this land of monks.

The dark parts of these pictures are green, the lines black

[11] Gothelakesland, perhaps for Crowland, occurs in the Patent Rolls, 27th Oct., 1314, 8 Edw. II.

[12] Schnebbelie and others suggest that this personage is identical with Tatwine, who was archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 731 to 734.

and drawn with a pen. The planked barge, with caulking and pegs or bolts, the flowing sail and peculiar looped eyes through which the yard passes, are of interest to the early history of shipbuilding.

Mr. J. W. Brown (in "Notes and Queries," second series, vol. ix, p. 230, A.D. 1860,) says, "there is, or was, over the west door of Crowland Abbey some sculpture where St. Guthlac is represented in a boat coming to land, where lies a sow and pigs under a willow tree. For the legend tells us that he was directed by the spirit to fix his station by a place where he should find a sow suckling her pigs, thus rendered:—

> 'The sign I'll tell you, keep it well in mind,
> When you in quest, by river side shall find
> A sow in color white, of largest size,
> Which under covert of the willow lies;
> With thirty pigs so white, a numerous race;
> There fix your city, 'tis the fatal place.'

I know nothing of the manifestly modern poem from which this is apparently an extract."

V.

Guthlacus edificat sibi capellam.

AT this desert place, called Crowland, Crugland, or Croyland, no one had ever been able to remain, for demons—perhaps of ague and rheumatism—were accustomed to frequent it. However, Guthlac begins his heremitic life there on the 25th of August, the day dedicated to the honour of St. Bartholomew the Apostle. Here he vows to live all his life, and after revisiting his companions, thrice thirty days having elapsed, he returns with two boys,[13] and begins his solitary life on the day of St. Bartholomew. There is some difficulty here with regard to dates, for the author Felix, in his eagerness to mark out the connection of St. Bartholomew with

[13] Perhaps Wilfred and Cissa, whom Felix calls "frequentatores ejus."

Guthlac, gives the same day for the first visit of Guthlac to Crowland as well as for his return to finally settle there.

Guthlac finds a hole made by treasure-seekers on a tumulus, and here he builds a hut, which afterwards develops into an oratory or religious house. The foundations of this building[14] have been found and described by the Rev. Canon Moore in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. xxxv, p. 133. They are composed of unhewn Barnack rag-stone and concrete, a well, or "cistern," is close by, as described by Felix, and there is a paved causeway leading to the abbey of Crowland, which is about a few hundred yards away in a south-easterly direction.

"That St. Guthlac led a hermit's selfish and solitary life," says Canon Moore, "in a small hut or cell on a lone island in the fenny marshes of Crowland, is abundantly refuted by the earliest account given of him by the monk Felix. The idea is also refuted by the character and station of the visitors whom he entertained. Felix speaks of kings and bishops being received by St. Guthlac, and of their being domiciled in houses upon the island. He also speaks of St. Guthlac's church and his servants."

The construction of this church forms the subject of the fifth roundle, where we find the inscription given above. The semicircular arcading of the nave, conveniently left open to view by the artist, shews us the plain delicate shaft with foliated capital, the marble altar with its embroidered cloth, the central tower, clerestory with its row of lights, east end with its bell tower, and a western tower in course of completion, Guthlac is hauling up at a pulley rope a basket of bricks, which a workman on the roof, having laid aside his trowel for the moment, is about to receive. Under an adjacent shed another workman is hewing stone with a double edged axe.

[14] In Schnebbelie's (p. 6) time there was, not far east from the abbey, upon a little hillock, a remnant of a small stone cottage, called "Anchor-Church-House," where formerly stood a chapel, over the very spot in which the saint had spent the time of his hermitage, and in which also at the expiration of his days, he was deposited.

Guthlac's bare and shaven head is worthy of contrast with the heads of the labourers, which are tightly covered with a cap fastened beneath the chin. The beam under the arch carries a curtain or cloak hastily laid upon it.

VI.

Angelus et Sanctus Bartholomeus loquuntur cum Guthlaco.

GUTHLAC'S rule of life would not admit of his wearing woollen or linen clothing, but only skins; his food was only a morsel of barley bread and some cups of muddy water after sundown. And in this state of bodily depression, the arch-enemy, who was wandering, according to his wont, over the face of the earth, and concocting new forms of temptation for mortals, found him a ready prey. Guthlac falls into a fit of despair, and for three days knows not what to do. On the third night he rouses himself and sings the verse:—"In my distress I called upon the Lord and cried unto my God; he heard my voice out of his temple, and my cry came before Him, even into His ears." Then suddenly Saint Bartholomew appears before him, and infuses a holy joy and divine comfort into his soul. "To make the saint amends for the disagreeable appearances of these vexatious visitors," says Schnebbelie, referring to the frequent visits of devils to St. Guthlac, "he had, if our author Felix is not misinformed, the daily society of an angel, who conversed with him, and remained invisible to every one but St. Guthlac himself; for his disciple Beccelm declares he had often heard him discoursing in his solitary hours with some other person, but was ever ignorant who it was, till St. Guthlac himself told him as he lay at the point of death."

This forms the motive of the sixth vignette; Guthlac is depicted seated in his chapel—now completed; before him stand his ever-present companion angel and St. Bartholomew the Apostle, over whom is the inscription. The attitudes of these three figures, the drapery of the angel,[15] who, with scroll

[15] Compare the figure and drapery of the angel with those of the angels just published by Canon Scott Robertson from the frescoes in crypt of Canterbury cathedral.

in hand, stands erect in a commanding posture with upraised hand and two fingers extended,—(an early form of shewing the act of benediction),—the surprise of Guthlac, and the vivid action of the apostle, are points of detail worthy of close examination. Peeping round one of the pillars of the transept is the somewhat diminished figure of little Beccelmus, or Beccelm, one of Guthlac's companions, of whom we shall hear more presently.

VII.

Demones ferunt Guthlacum in aerem cedentes eum.

TEMPTATIONS are, however, in store for our hero. Two devils, in human guise, come to him with specious arguments in favour of fasting throughout the week, but Guthlac discomfits them by singing the verse from the Psalms:—"When I cry unto Thee, then shall mine enemies turn back." And the evil spirits, finding themselves worsted, flee away with horrid cries, and never trouble him again.

On another occasion a crowd of evil ones visit Guthlac while he is engaged in prayer during the night. Felix gives a detailed account of their appearance in a long category of nouns and adjectives:—a literary effort of tedious prolixity to us, to him manifestly an opportunity of displaying his familiarity with rare Latin expressions.

I may appropiately introduce here a short passage from "The Camp of Refuge,[16] a tale of the Conquest of the Isle of Ely." "You wist well, my lord, said Elfric, for who should know it better, than in the heathenish times the whole of the Isle of Crowland, and all the bogs and pools round about were haunted day and night, but most at night, by unaccountable troops and legions of devils, with blubber-lips, fiery mouths, scaly faces, beetle heads, sharp long teeth, long chins, hoarse throats, black skins, hump shoulders, big bellies, burning loins, bandy legs, cloven hoofs for feet, and long tails at their buttocks. And who so well as your

[16] New Ed., with notes by S. H. Miller, p. 149.

lordship knoweth that these blubber fiends, angered that their fens and stinking pools should be invaded, allowed our first monks of Crowland no peace nor truce, but were for ever gibing and mowing at them, biting them with their sharp teeth, switching them with their filthy tails, putting dirt in their meat and drink, nipping them by the nose, giving them cramps and rheums, and shivering agues and burning fevers, and fustigating and tormenting not a few of the friars even to death! And your lordship knows that these devils of Crowland were not driven away until the time when that very pious man Guthlacus became a hermit there, and cut the sluices that lead from the fetid pools to the flowing rivers. Then, in sooth, the devils of Crowland were beaten off by prayer and by holy water, and the horrible blue lights which they were wont to light upon the most fetid of the pools, ceased to be seen of men."[17]

Such are the creatures who howl around Guthlac in his retreat: they invade his cell, and carry him away, in bonds, to dip him in the muddy water of the fens and drag him through the briers. They beat him with iron whips, but they do not shake his firmness and his constancy. This is all depicted in the seventh panel, where the artist gives us a glimpse of the oratory, with Beccelm seated in adoration of the Eucharist, shewn by the chalice upon the altar; while outside, high up in the air, and not far from the cloud-fringed border of the celestial regions, the demons bear Guthlac into the air and beat him. Five demons, grotesquely hideous, bear Guthlac aloft, beating him with triple-thonged whips, while he raises his hands in earnest entreaty and supplication.

[17] The Editor adds a note here. "The legend of the Crowland devils had its origin, no doubt, in the cramps and rheums and shivering agues and burning fevers, or in the hallucination caused by these ailments. The impure vapours from the swamps, where fresh and salt waters met and deposited animal and vegetable remains—not from the peat bogs—produced those terrible diseases which are almost unknown to the present fen-dwellers."

VIII.

Demones ferunt Guthlacum ad portas inferi.

THE fiends carry their prey up to heaven and down to hell, where he beholds all kinds of torments and devils torturing the lost in the black caverns of cinder-pools. This incident enables the artist in his eighth picture to gives us the conventional "jaws" of hell, with eyes, nostrils, and perfect set of molar and incisor teeth, combined with battlements in illustration of the "gates" of hell. Within appears a confused mass of devils, a crowned king, an archbishop, robed and mitred, and two shaven monks,—perhaps portraits of some of the obnoxious acquaintances of the draughtsman. Above is Guthlac, invested with the nimbus of sanctity, held up by two demons.

His tormenters threaten to throw him into these torments. The fire is ready; hell's jaws gape for him; and he declares his readiness to suffer. But, behold! Saint Bartholomew again appears on the scene and commands the devils to take him back. When they arrive at mid-air the voice of angels is heard singing psalms of comfort, and he has a momentary vision of two imps weeping for their lost power over him. On this occasion St. Bartholomew gives Guthlac a whip,[18] "Sanctus Bartholomeus fert flagrum Guthlaco," and this he makes use of, with considerable effect, on the fiends in a future adventure.

IX.

Demones circumdant domum Guthlaci in diversis formis bestiarum.

THE artist here passes over without illustration the attempt of Beccelm to murder his master, and a few other passages in

[18] See a drawing in British Museum, Add. MS. 17367, dat. A.D. 1535. In the Harley Roll S, 32, which is really a calendar for A.D. 1478 with rude drawings of saints and emblems, Guthlac's whip degenerates into a two-handled caldron or pot with two flowers springing out of it.

the life of Guthlac; and the ninth vignette represents the oratory, or chapel, with its altar, its gem-bound service book, and its nimbus-bearing occupant, who is suddenly invaded by an inrush of demons in diverse animal shapes—the lion, the bull, the bear, the snake, boar, wolf, horse, stag, and other creatures, each one uttering its peculiar cry. But Guthlac, armed with his Bartholomean whip, seizes the arch-fiend, who is here in the form of a bull, and administers a severe discipline of the knout to him, while five hideous creatures gibe and mow, and stretch out their distorted fingers in mockery and derision, as they hide behind the buttresses of the sacred edifice and peer round to witness the discomfiture and castigation of their leader.

X.

Guthlacus eicit demonium a quodam comite cingulo suo.

In the tenth plaque another very interesting incident in the life of Guthlac is illustrated. Ecgga, or Egga, a follower of the exiled king Aeðibald, is possessed by evil spirits, and consequently loses his wits. He is led in bonds to Guthlac, who takes off his own girdle, binds it round the waist of the demoniac, and thereby drives out the evil inhabitant of his mind. This picture gives a fine view of the chapel, with a spire or pointed flêche, surmounted by a ball. The nimbed Guthlac stoops down, tenderly gazing into the sick man's face, and straps the girdle round him, while at the same moment the evil spirit, flecked and spotted, horned and winged, issues from Egga's mouth and passes away, to the manifest astonishment of two youths, who have brought their comrade to his healing, and are now standing by to witness his miraculous restoration to mental and bodily health. The inscription is over Guthlac's head. Gough, and some who have followed him, err in reading the last words "e jugulo suo," a mistake which appears all the more plausible from the fact of the evil spirit issuing out of the mouth of the afflicted Egga.

XI.

Guthlacus sacerdotium suscipit a Hedda episcopo Wintoniensi.

THE eleventh vignette illustrates another, and important episode in the life of the Saint. "A certain bishop named Headda," according to Felix, which is identified by the artist as the bishop of Winchester,[19] accompanied by his *librarius*, Wigfriδ (who somewhat boastfully undertakes to decide upon the sincerity of Guthlac's professions), visits Guthlac, and is struck with the angelic sweetness of his conversation and the profoundness of his religious knowledge. This leads to the bishop offering to consecrate Guthlac to the priestly office, and Guthlac readily consents.

This picture, which is beautifully conceived in the true spirit of balanced points of interest, shews us the interior of the church, and although the perspective is faulty, and the artist's idea of the relative position of chancel and nave, gables and clerestories, arches and buttresses, is somewhat confused, nevertheless he has presented to our view a very valuable collection of details of early ecclesiastical architecture of the twelfth century in England. In the foreground, Guthlac, tonsured and robed in his sacerdotal vestments, reverently bowing his head and kneeling on his left knee, receives the symbol of priestly rank, the chalice—(another similar vessel being placed on the altar). The bishop, "Pontifex," attired in his pontificial habiliments, with mitre, staff, and embroidered habit, is consecrating Guthlac by the ancient and apostolic rite of the imposition of hands. Overhead is written the superscription. On the right hand, balancing the episcopal personage opposite, stands a compact body of tonsured ecclesiastics, among whom we may perhaps recognise Beccelm. One of these is carrying a book which has an ornamental cover, studded with gems, and having a curious

[19] Headda sat on the see of Winchester from A.D. 676 till his death on the 7th July, A.D. 705. Hedda, bishop of Lichfield, sometimes confused with this personage, occurs from A.D. 691—706.

projecting tongue in the binding. The foremost of this group is probably Wigfriδ, the *librarius*, and from his embroidered vestment or dalmatic, and an elegant cruciform fibula, or quatrefoiled brooch, at his throat, we may conjecture that he held higher rank than those who are behind him. He is holding an open book, and pointing to the kneeling recipient of ordination. In my opinion this refers to the curious custom of taking a prognostic, or augury, of what character a bishop or priest would prove to be. It was taken by an inspection of the Gospels immediately after consecration, as the book was held open by the assistant at the moment, and laid upon the shoulders of the newly ordained, thereby intimating the yoke of the Gospel. This practice, now I believe discontinued, was in the early middle ages in use in the Eastern and Western churches.[20]

By the extended hand, with forefinger at full length pointing to Guthlac, we are bound to infer, from the rules of ancient art, that the person is speaking, and the reading of the prognosticating verse would probably be the only occasion for any assistant at the ceremony of ordination, so to speak, the bishop being, of course, charged with the active part of the service. Schnebbelie, on the other hand, describes the open book as containing the ceremonial of consecration.

XII.

Guthlacus consolatur regem Ethelbaldum exulem.

THE next subject is the interview of Ethelbald,[21] prince or earl, and afterwards king of the Mercians, with Guthlac. Persecuted by the intrigues of his cousin Ceolred, king of the

[20] See Will. Malm., *Gesta Pontif.*, Ed. Hamilton, p. 625. Moigne d'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale*, S.V. "Sortes Sanctorum." The prognostics of Anselm, and Lanfranc, Archbishops of Canterbury; Herbert Losinga, bishop of Thetford and Norwich, and others are mentioned by William of Malmesbury, *l.c.*

[21] Succeeds A.D. 716; killed at Seckington, A.D. 755. *Angl. Sax. Chron.*

Mercians,[23] he is compelled to lie hidden in a corner of his kingdom, among the fens, and having heard of Guthlac's fame, comes to visit him. Guthlac consoles him, and this gives the title to the twelfth vignette. Here we are shewn, in a new building not far differing from that in the previous picture, the exiled king. "Ethelbaldus Rex," with his crown and royal robes, seated on a cushioned seat, which, from its pannelled front, and the slope of its sides, reminds us forcibly of the seats on which the sovereigns of England are sitting in their great seals from the time of Henry I to Richard II—that is, nearly the whole of the twelfth century. With head somewhat bent forward in pensive mood, he is listening to the animated discourse of Guthlac, who is seated alongside of his royal visitor upon a seat of less ornamental character. Guthlac has the nimbus of sanctity around his head, in his left hand a gemmed book with the peculiarly-shaped tongue on the cover to which attention has been already directed; his right hand elevated, with the index finger extended towards the prince, demonstrates that he is in the act of speaking. According to the MSS., the Saint declares that he has interceded for him with God, and that he shall soon be restored to his kingdom: he bids him be of good courage and wait in patience for the Lord's appointed time. Behind Ethelbald sits an attendant or noble youth, resting his head upon his hand in an elegant and interesting attitude, thoroughly characteristic of Early English art.

XIII.

Guthlacus languens loquitur cum Beccelmo discipulo suo.

PASSING on to the next illustration, we have almost the same view of the oratory or chapel, in the area of which no less than seven previous scenes have been laid. The altar, however, here demands attention from its peculiar ornamentation, which appears to be intended either for marbled tesseræ or embroidery

[23] Son of Æthelred [son of] Penda: Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* i, 72 Succeeds in A.D. 709, dies in A.D. 716. *Angl. Sax. Chron.*

in squares. The chalice, already depicted, is not wanting from its conventional place.

Guthlac's biographer, Felix, has recorded at length the details of the Saint's illness, which forms the subject of this drawing. On the right of the picture is the reclining figure of Guthlac, with extended hand and finger, in the act of giving his final injunctions to Beccelm. He is without clothing, and reclining upon drapery, which is intended for bedding, and a portion of it, falling in graceful folds, covers him from the breast to the ankles. Beside his languishing master, is "Beccelmus," kneeling on his right knee, extending his hands, and gazing earnestly and affectionately at the dying face of him whom once he had been tempted to destroy. But this is forgotten now, and the few remaining words that pass between the Saint and the disciple are only those of advice and consolation, and in the course of the incident Beccelm desires Guthlac to explain one circumstance before his death. He had always heard the voice of some unknown one conversing with Guthlac; Guthlac explains this by declaring that from the second year of his hermit life the Lord had sent him an angel for his consolation, morning and evening, to unfold to him divine mysteries, alleviate the hardness of his earthly lot with heavenly oracles, and reveal to him absent matters as though they were present.

XIV.

Guthlacus moritur.

AT this time a honeyed flowery odour proceeds from Guthlac's mouth; from midnight until dawn a fiery light shines around the building; and after uttering a few last solemn words of warning, Guthlac fortifies himself with the communion of the body and blood of Christ, and at length departs this life[28] and gives up the ghost. The scene is again laid at the oratory, which had been his constant abode for fifteen years. Stretched

[28] According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, this takes place A.D. DCCXIV. One MS. reads DCCXIII.

at length upon the bed of flowing drapery, lies the dead form of the Saint, whom the artist has clothed in this picture in a closely fitting tunic with tight sleeves, and around his head is the nimbus—emblem of that sanctity to which his life of mortification, contemplation, good works, self-denial, and religious study has brought him. The heavens are opening to admit of the descent of two angelic forms, nimbed, and apparelled in the undulating drapery which is so characteristic of the English school of drawing. The foremost messenger is receiving the soul, "*anima*," which is represented as a little child, issuing from the dead one's month, in obedience to the conventional rules of ancient art, of which the ninth vignette, where the evil spirit in like manner quits the demon-haunted Egga, may be cited as an example ready to hand. There may also be an intended reference to our Lord's figurative words, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be coverted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (*Matt.* xviii, 3); and "Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein" (*Luke* xviii, 17).

The artist here, also, has introduced the wondrous ray of light, as it were a tower of fire, which shon on Guthlac at his birth, according to the historian, and again at his death, by a number of lines, issuing from the cloud-fringe of heaven, and stretching downwards, slightly diverging as they descend, towards the face of the Saint. We may remember in the sacred text, how the countenance of the angel at the Lord's sepulchre "was like lightning" (*Matt.* xxviii, 3). This idea of a beam of light signifying the death of a saint is not infrequent in mediæval history, and even among the Orientals the same appearance is recorded on similar occasions:—a miraculous light was thus sent to Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, while he was in prison in a dark cell;[24] a pillar of light, "cælo demissa columna lucifera," points out the hidden body of the murdered St. Wistan, son of king Wimund;[25] and upon

[24] Will. Malm. Gesta Pont., p. 230.

[25] *Ib.*, p. 297.

the body of John Scottus a miraculous fiery light was shed: "divinus favor multis noctibus super eum lucem indulsit igneam."[26] In the life of the religious Jew Petachia, lately published by Dr. Seligmann, is related a similar occurrence.

XV.

Beccelmus fert mandata Guthlaci Pege.

In accordance with the last instructions of his master, the clerk Beccelm conveys the news of the Saint's death to Pega,[27] his sister, who was an inmate, if not the governess, of the monastery of Peykirk, *i.e.* Pega's church, in the county of Northampton, about four miles from Guthlac's oratory. This results in Pega's journey to Crowland to perform the obsequies of her brother. The subject of the fifteenth plaque is derived from this incident. On the pale green waters of the fen we observe a boat, not unlike that which conveyed Guthlac to his desert island fifteen years before, with the exception that the mast and sail are wanting, and the poop and prow are not carried up so high as in that example; in it stands Beccelm, draped in his tunic and hooded cloak; and in the stern sits a figure, with similar attire, having his head covered with the peculiarly shaped cap which identifies him with the builder on the roof of the chapel in the fifth vignette, and dipping into the water a paddle resembling that already described among the details of the fourth illustration.[28] Pega, in sorrowful mood, vested in loosely flowing garb, and with a wimple on her head, which is bowed in dejection, is on the

[26] Will. Malm. Gesta Pont., p. 394.

[27] Florence of Worcester, p. 48, calls the sister of Guthlac, Pegia:—"Anachorita probatissimus deique sacerdos fidelissimus, dilectæ Christi virginis Pegiæ germanus, innumerabilium virtutum patrator Guthlacus," from which it would seem that Pegia was more famous, to him at least, than Guthlac.

[28] Some one who had access to this roll of pictures before it passed into the Harley Collection, has irreverently added a long feather to the head gear of the navigator, and a pair of spectacles to his nose.

right, just in the act of stepping from the flower-strewn bank into the forepart of the boat, while Beccelm takes her hand to assist her movements. Over her head is the explanatory inscription, "Pega soror Guthlaci." Behind Pega is a monk or attendant leaning on a crutch with pointed end, and holding in his right hand a closed book, the cover of which, from its peculiar shape and ornamentation, has been already the subject of remark among the descriptions of accessories which have occurred before. It is worthy of notice that the waving line of clouds which was introduced into the series at the previous picture is here repeated.

XVI.

Hic sepelitur Guthlacus.

THE religious obsequies of the departed Saint last for the space of three days, and culminate in the burial of Guthlac. The scene shifts back again to the chapel or oratory, the architecture of which, in this picture, resembles in the main the examples which have gone before. In the foreground is the dead body, "Corpus Guthlaci," wrapped in cerecloth, and yet preserving human outlines, reverently held by Pega at the head, and an assistant—perhaps Beccelm, (habited in cowl and surplice,) at the foot, and about to be deposited in a marble cist or sarcophagus, while a tonsured priest or monk, perhaps intended for Cissa—who succeeded Guthlac as governor of the establishment (not yet an abbey) at Crowland, —vested in an embroidered and bordered garment, reads the office of the dead from an open book in his left hand, and with a swinging censer in his right censes the mortal remains of his master.

Here, too, as in the fourteenth vignette, the pillar of light, similarly drawn, rains down celestial effulgence from the opening clouds of heaven upon the body of the departed Saint—a token of divine satisfaction of Guthlac's victory over the world, which has ensured him the meed due to a hero in the world of the hereafter.

XVII.

Guthlacus regi Ethelbaldo apparet ad sepulcrum ejus vigilanti.

PASSING over the translation of Guthlac's remains to another sepulchre, after the lapse of twelve months, when the body was found uncorrupted as of one sleeping, in this cartoon we have a scene of Ethelbald, still a prince, although called "Rex Ethelbaldus," and draped by the artist in regal crown and vesture, watching by the richly ornamented tomb of his departed friend. The same, or nearly the same, architectural edifice is introduced, with a curtain looped up over the heads of three sleeping attendants of the prince. St. Guthlac is drawn at full length, and with nimbus and book, in conversation with the kneeling suppliant, to whom he promises a speedy elevation to the kingdom, and comfirms it with a sign.[29] The chalice, it will be observed, has been removed from the altar, as the time here represented is midnight.

XVIII.

IN the concluding vignette—which seems more than any to have been designed for a glass-window—there is no descriptive sentence, but its subject is quite clear. On the right is an altar, contiguous to a shrine, which is intended to represent that in which Guthlac's remains are deposited. It stands on slender shafting, and has a pent roof, ridged with a fleury ornamentation and a cross at the extremity. Beneath lies the body of a young man, probably a demoniac, with hands crossed, and held in a fetterlock.[30] From his mouth issues an evil spirit at the invocation of the Saint.

Before the altar is a group of thirteen principal benefactors

[29] Æthelred's accession took place in 719.

[30] See a similar treatment of Judas and Arrius, a twelfth century MS. Brit. Mus.: Titus D. xxvi, f. 75*b*. This has been published by the Palæographical Society, plate 60; Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. xi, New Series, Birch on Anglo Saxon MSS.

of Crowland abbey, founded by Æthelbald, and dedicated to the patronage of the Saint whose life had hallowed the spot on which the abbey was erected. Each of these figures is appropriately draped, and carries a long scroll inscribed[31] as follows:

1 . Ego Rex Ethelbaldus do tibi sedem abbatie cum pertinentiis suis solutam et liberam ab omni seculari exactione.

2 . Ego Abbas Turketellus do tibi sextam partem hereditatis mee . Wenliburch[32] . Bebi[33] . Coteham[34] . Hokintune[35] . Elmintune[36] . Wuthorp.[37]

3 . Ego Frogistus do tibi, pater Guthlace, Laugetoft[38] cum pertinentiis .

4 . Ego Alfwinus comes do tibi Moreburne[39] cum pertinentiis.

5 . Ego Wulfus do tibi terram de Adintuñ[40] cum pertinentiis.

6 . Ego Normannus vicecomes do tibi terram de Suttune[41] et de Sstapeltune[42].

7 . Ego Geolfus do tibi terram de Halintune[43].

8. Ego Algarus filius Norlang do tibi Bastune[44]. et Teford[45] cum pertinentiis .

[31] These inscriptions are short notices of grants of lands, and benefactions to the Saint, *i.e.* the abbey. The texts of their respective charters may be found in Ingulph's *History of Crowland*, Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and other works.

[32] Wendlinburgh, co. Northampton.

[33] Beby, co. Leicester.

[34] Cotenham, co. Cambridge.

[35] Hockington, co. Cambridge.

[36] Elmington, co. Northampton.

[37] Wothorpe, co. Northampton.

[38] Langtoft, co. Lincoln.

[39] Morborn, co. Huntingdon.

[40] Adington, in Soudnavesland hundred, co. Lincoln.

[41] Sutton-Cheynell, co. Leicester.

[42] Stapleton, co. Leicester.

[43] Hallington, co.

[44] Baston, co. Lincoln.

[45] Tetford, co. Cambridge.

9 . Ego Toroldus vicecomes do tibi terram de Buggehale[46].
10 . Ego Algarus comes do tibi terram de Spalding[47]. et de Pinceb[48]. et Quappel[49] et Holeh[50].
11 . Ego Algarus diaconus do tibi terram de Duvedic[51] et Ecclesiam cum pertinentiis .
12 . Ego Oswius do tibi terram de Draitune[52] cum pertinentiis.
13 . Ego Alanus de Croun do tibi , pater Guthlace , Prioratum de Frest'[53] cum pertinentiis .

[46] Buchehale, co. Lincoln; according to some, Bukenhale, co Northampton, or Bucknall, co. Lincoln.
[47] Spalding, co. Lincoln.
[48] Pinceb.
[49] Quaplode, co. Lincoln.
[50] Interpreted to be Holbeach.
[51] South Dovedike, co. Lincoln.
[52] Drayton, co. Cambridge, or co. Lincoln.
[53] Freston, co. Lincoln, founded for a Prior and Black Monks, *i.e.* Benedictines, in A.D. 1114, and given to Crowland as a cell or dependant religious house.

ON WAXED TABLETS RECENTLY FOUND AT POMPEII.

BY W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S., SEC. R.S.L.

[Read November 28, 1877.]

HAVING lately received some information relative to a remarkable collection of waxed tablets inscribed with Roman names and words, which, about a year and half since, were found at Pompeii, and having learnt further that little or nothing was known about it in this country, I have thought that it might be not uninteresting to this Society if I were to lay before them the chief facts of this story, with some of the more important results to the study of classical antiquities which may be derived from this discovery.

As few are probably familiar with Roman writing, or with the various materials used by this ancient people in recording political and legal history, or, as in the present case, the events of daily life, I will preface my present paper with some general remarks on Roman writing. The Romans seem to have used nearly all the materials for writing we still use at the present day, such as parchment or vellum,[1] paper, stone, metal plates; but they

[1] *Pergamena Charta. Vellum, i.e., vitulinum corium*, calf skin. *Cicero ad Attic.* xiii calls his four pages "quatuor διφθέραι," so "*extremâ cerâ codicis*" answered to what we should call the "last page."

used, also, what so far as I know has been but rarely used, in more recent times, that particular material to which I am about to call your attention—*Tabulæ ceratæ*—pieces of wood of various kinds—oak, fir, birch, citron-wood, and box (the last of which, from the closeness of its grain, was naturally the one most preferred) together with even ivory, all of these being severally covered with a thin film of wax of various colours, much like, though not as thin as, that used for engraving modern copper plates.

On this thin over coating of wax were scratched by a metal tool, sharp at one end and flat at the other, called a stylus,[2] such *memoranda* as they wished to preserve. Certainly one would have thought that to write or scratch on a substance so soft as wax, anything one wished to keep uninjured, for even a limited time, would have been scarcely well advised. Still less should we have expected a material, naturally so destructible, would have been used for documents intended to last for a tolerably long period. Indeed, we should hardly have anticipated, even with the remembrance of the butter preserved in Irish bogs, that a single specimen

[2] xiii *Stylus or graphium.* Still used for writing or rather scratching on palm leaves, &c., in Burmah, S. India, and elsewhere. *See* MS. at British Museum on silver and gold, with the stylus used exhibited, and abundant examples on palm leaves at the India Office library or in that of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The stylus was broad at one end—hence *stylum sæpè vertas*, to make frequent correction, Hor. Sat., 11, 3, 2.

I am afraid the *stylus* was not restricted to literary purposes. We have notices of its having been used for *offence*—also for *defence*, when Cæsar struck down the "*envious*" Casca, when he and other scoundrels murdered him at the foot of Pompey's statue. In modern times, too, the *stiletto*, or "little stylus," has not been quite unknown.

of such writing or of its material would have been able to resist the ravages of time: hence, we can hardly be surprised to learn that specimens of even the wooden framework, from which the wax and writing have long since disappeared, are among the rarest curiosities of our modern Museums, if, indeed, it be quite certain that these wooden fragments so exhibited have been correctly named.

But though we could hardly have expected that such tender documents could have come down to our time, even in fragments partially if not wholly unintelligible, it is certain that the use of *Ceratæ Tabulæ* did survive till a comparatively very late period of the *Middle Ages:* we have evidence that specimens of such writings were extant in A.D. 1301, at Florence; in A.D. 1307, at St. Gall, in Switzerland; in A.D. 1308 at Genoa; in A.D. 1426-28 at Hanover; and in A.D. 1431-42 at Munich. None of these, however, except in the material employed, bear any real relation to these from Pompeii; so that we are justified in saying that the collection of them now in the Museum at Naples is practically unique. So far as I have been able to ascertain, only two other specimens exactly resembling them have been met with, but these, for reasons I shall presently state, I propose to reserve till the end of this paper.[3]

Ceratæ Tabulæ were used for all purposes by the ancient Romans, and especially for noting down

[3] A few other specimens exist in European museums, but I am not able just now to refer to them as fully as I should wish. Mr. Kenrick has noticed some of these.

present or passing events. They formed, in fact, their *adversaria* or *memorandum* books—the statements on them being often, perhaps generally, written by the slave (*Notarius* or *Tabellarius*), who accompanied his master for this purpose. What is remarkable is, that both Quinctilian and Martial speak of the rapidity with which such writings could be executed, the former stating that writing on wax was all the quicker than that on paper, that you had not to dip your *calamus* (reed or pen) into the ink, and the latter asserting that the *Actuarii*, or shorthand writers, wrote more quickly than the orator spoke, and illustrating his meaning with the well known line, "Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis." Mart. xiv, 208.

I must now tell you what these tablets really were like. To begin with, they were generally oblong, about seven or eight inches in length, by five or six in breadth: their outer sides consisting of a simple wooden frame; while their inner side had a slightly raised edge all round, the object being the retaining the wax, and the preserving the writing from being rubbed off or effaced. At the back, they were apparently held together by wires, which, more or less, though imperfectly, answered the purpose of hinges, so that they could be opened and shut, somewhat like our older books.[4] There were often

[4] The nearest thing to these *tabulæ*—and their arrangement—must, I think, have been certain small books, made of four or five slates set in a wooden frame, and made to turn over like the leaves of a book, which were not uncommon in country schools 40 to 50 years ago, and may possibly be still in use, in remote places, as yet *uncurst* by *School Boards*.

three or more of these tablets fastened together, and when so joined, they were called *Diptychs*, *Triptychs*, etc., names, as every one knows, applied in much later times to the sacred ivory tablets, of which so many are still preserved in our Museums, and still later to the marvellous early German paintings on wood, which form the glory of the collections at Antwerp and Bruges, and are fairly well represented in our National Gallery and in the Taylor Collection at Oxford.

It may be added that there is a remarkable resemblance between these *Ceratæ Tabulæ* and the well known bronze documents called *Tabulæ Honestæ Missionis*—which were given to soldiers who had served with honour to themselves and advantage to their country, and who were called *emeriti*. The account in the Bible of the Tables of the Law, as given to Moses, suggests documents similar in form, and which, hence, were called *Diptychs* by St. Augustine; and so does, also, that of the seven-sealed Book of the Apocalypse.

Julius Cæsar, with that wonderful commonsense or genius he showed in almost everything he took in hand, was the first, so far as we know, to suggest the particular form of the *tabulæ*, as well as the manner by which they should be fastened together, so as to make little books. Previously it had been the custom when one page of writing (I am speaking now of writing on some substance resembling paper) was finished,to gum on a second page, and so on, and, when the whole was finished, to roll it round a central stick, thus forming the *volumen* or volume. Cæsar saw the inconvenience of this method; hence, in his letters

to the Senate, he divided them into pages so that they could be folded, like an account book. These books so fastened together received the name of *libelli* and sometimes of *codicilli*. Though the latter, in more modern times, have been chiefly restricted to *Wills*, a *Diploma*, answering very nearly to our *Letters Patent*, bore the title of *libellus duorum foliorum*;—while the *Codex* (or *Caudex*) implied any number of these pages when thus folded together. I may further remark that, from this idea of the *volumen* or *volume*, we at once understand the Latin phrase *evolvere librum*—to unroll the book, *i.e.*, read it. It may be asked how it was that things so essentially Roman came to bear generally, and in daily use, the Greek title of *Diptychs*, *Triptychs*, etc., meaning the *twice* or *thrice* folded. I believe the reason to be simply this, that about the first century B.C.—that is, the period of Cæsar and Cicero—the minor literature of the day was performed by slaves, either Greeks or of Greek origin; indeed, we know that this was the case with the teaching of boys, from the name *Pedagogus*.[5] These people would naturally give Greek names to the books or tablets on which they were ordered to write; moreover, slaves bearing writing materials constantly accompanied Roman gentlemen to the Forum or the Senate House.[6]

The more strictly Latin name for these *tablets*

[5] Our *Pedagogue* was originally the slave who took the sons of his Patrician master to school, carrying for them their *Tabulæ ceratæ* and their books. Hence he was said *τὸν παιδὰ ἀγάγειν*.

[6] On many, too, of the Pompeian tablets, the writer speaks of himself as *Servus*, a slave.

is *pugillaris*, that which can be grasped in the *pugnus* or closed hand, the πινάξ πύκτος of Homer. The individual pages of the tablets were often called simply *ceræ*. Thus we find *prima cera*, *ultima cera*, and *ima cera*, meaning, respectively, the first or last page. Notoriously, in the case of wills, we find such phrases as *hæres ex prima cerâ*—the heir first named. So, Suetonius tells us, that Julius Cæsar "In *ima* cerâ Octavianum etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit,"—in other words, that Julius Cæsar by the last sheet of his will, adopted Octavianus (afterwards Augustus) into his family, making him the successor of his name. It seems also probable that the *ceratæ tabulæ* may, in many cases, be looked upon as the first drafts of important inscriptions, subsequently inscribed on the more durable brass or marble. Many instances of these many be seen in Orelli, as at Nos. 4359 and 4370, the metallic copy being afterwards placed (as was the will of Augustus) in the *Ærarium* or Treasury at Rome.

Having now said so much as a sort of preface, I proceed to give you some account of the discovery itself, and of the contents of the tablets thus discovered, with some notice of the peculiar writing they exhibit.

The discovery seems to have been in this wise :—

About a year and a half ago workmen were clearing out a house recently excavated, belonging to an ancient Pompeian gentleman named L. Cæcilius Jocundus, and over the portico of the peristyle of this house came upon a hollow space, about 19 inches square, in which were packed as closely as possible, like herrings in a barrel (a fact to which their partial

preservation is probably due), 132 *libelli*, little books, or tablets, diptychs and triptychs, together with some few others of a somewhat larger size, some of which appeared to have been waxed on both sides, and then bound up like books. The whole had evidently at some time before B.C. 79, when Pompeii was overwhelmed by the eruption of Vesuvius, been enclosed in a strong wooden box, portions of which were also found. I am sorry that no detailed drawings seem to have been made, or even photographs taken, of their exact state when discovered, but the following facts about them have been recorded. In the first place, though all of them had suffered greatly from the heat, the process of carbonization had not been equal, certain of the tablets had been converted into a firm and shiny charcoal, others, again, were turned into a soft and friable substance, easily reducible to powder,—indeed, in some cases had been already so reduced.

All of them had been strongly impregnated with moisture, and on being taken out of the hole, in which they had been for nearly 1,800 years, into the warmth of the surrounding air, began to crackle up more and more from day to day, till at length the tablets were, as a rule, completely split through, while some of them broke up into a number of minute pieces of which no record was possible. Great care seems to have been taken with them in their removal to the house of Mr. Vincenzo Corazza, a paper-maker close by, and it is fair to believe that as many of them have been preserved as was possible under the circumstances. To the injury from fire and water just noticed must be added that, besides the

wax on the tablets, several of them had once had seals, and that this second wax had been in many cases also melted, and, spreading over the adjacent pages, had greatly injured the earlier writing on them :— more than this, the original wax of the writing had, in several instances, been absorbed by the wood, so that there was scarcely one of the whole collection which could be fully decyphered. The condition of most of them was, that a portion of the writing was quite clear, and the rest altogether defaced. Yet, allowing for these drawbacks, the discovery is one of the highest interest, and reflects great credit on those who, in the manipulation of the precious relics, have dealt with them with loving hands, and have, at the same time, given to them unwearied study. The result is that they have been able to decypher—though in many instances only partially —no less than 127 specimens out of the 132. Perhaps no greater instance can be found of patient labour and successful scholarship, even though the results attained may seem small as compared with other epigraphic labours. It is, of course, impossible for me, within the limited time and space at my command, to describe anything like all of the 127 inscriptions thus recovered. But I can give you a general account of them, at the same time selecting two of the clearest, which will give a good idea of their general character, and of the state in which they have come down to us. I have appended to each copy a second in plain writing, so that the contents of the original may be more readily understood by those who are not professed palæographers. With respect to their contents,

these Pompeian *libelli* may be divided into two principal classes :—

1. Instruments referring to sales of various objects by public auction. 2. Acquittances for the payment of municipal demands. Of these, the first class are the richest in examples, but naturally exhibit constant repetitions, and are, therefore, individually curious, chiefly for their date, the nature of the properties passing from hand to hand, and the names of the witnesses. The second class, though possessing fewer examples, will, when sufficiently studied, be found to throw much unexpected light on the local history of the town in which they have been found.

To refer to the first class. These confirm in a remarkable manner what may be gleaned from the classical writers with regard to the Roman law of sales. In the earliest times,[7] as is well known,

[7] Sir P. Colquhoun has been so good as to give the accompanying legal note :—

"The ancient term for an auction was *secare:* hence *de debitoris corpore in partes secando*, falsely interpreted to mean cutting up the insolvent's body, and portioning it out among his creditors, hence, too, *sectione sive venditione bonorum.* The bidders were termed *emptores* to whom, according as they bid, *dicebant*, the object was knocked down, *addicebatur*—subsequently they were called *auctiones quia prætium augebatur.* The word *addico* conveyed *quiritian* ownership, or, as we should say, an indefeasible title conferring a right of action.

The most important spoil of war was slaves, *ἀιχμάλωτοι* or *hastati*, from the *hasta*, or spear planted to denote an auction would be held. *Auctio* probably implied an ordinary sale : *Sectio*, a sale under order of the court.

"Cic : Phil. 2, 26, *Cæsar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur ; meâ autem sententiâ si quis reipublicæ sit infelix, felix esse non potest.* Hastâ posita pro Æde Jovis Statoris *bona—bona inquam Cn : Pompeii Magni* voci acerbissimæ subjecta præconis *expectantibus omnibus quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam Dis hominibusque*

sales generally took place *sub hastâ*, a spear being set up in some public place where the sale was to be, perhaps because the first sales were those of plunder taken from enemies. Curiously enough this name for auctions still exists in Italy, where the phrase *vendere all' asta publica* is often found in the newspapers. The original phrase used was *Vendo—Vendidi*, I sell or have sold, which was in later times modified into *auctionem facio, auctionatus est.* I make the auction—or the auction is made. Each auction was preceded by the Præco or Public Crier (who was said *auctionem prædicare*) and subsequently

hostis qui ad illud scelus sectionis *auderet accedere: inventus est nemo præter Antonium! Unus inventus est* qui id auderet, quod *omnium fugisset et formdâsset audacia. Tantusigitur te stupor oppressit, vel ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum quum sector sis isto loco natus,* deinde quum Pompeii sector, *non te exsecrandum populo* Romano, *non detestabilem, non omnes tibi Deos, omnes homines, et esse inimicos* et *futuros scias?* The *præco* or cryer acted exactly like our auctioneer, for it was above the dignity of the *magister* or *argentarius* to puff the goods, he performed the duties of our auctioneer's clerk, received the produce and paid the vendors minus his commission, or the creditors if the sale was judicial. The certificate was evidence of ownership transferred, and it is to be presumed he kept a memorandum of the fact for reference. Jocundus probably was a judicial and perhaps also a private auctioneer, who had continued the business of a predecessor, and therefore preserved the memoranda.

"The slave who took the notes was probably somewhat illiterate and spelt ill. Pompeii was half a Greek city.

"The XII Tables say of the debtor *ni cum eo* (*creditori*) *pacit* lx *dies endo vinculis retineto, inter ibi trinis nundinis continuis in comitium procetato, ærisque æstimiam judicati prædicato, ast si pluribus erant rei tertiis nundinis partes* secanto. *Si plus minusve* secuerunt *se fraude* esto. Cic: pro Rosc., Am. 63; Ascon. Prædian. od: in Verrem Flor 2, 6: Varro de Re Rust: 2, 10 XII Tab. *debitorem obæratum creditores secanto trans Tiberim.* The debtor was exiled fictitiously to deprive him of his citizenship, so as to enable him to be sold as a slave or *dirutus* assigned to his creditor to work out his debt.

in some cases practically took the place of our auctioneer.

The *præco* put forth a written statement (*inscripsit* or *perscripsit litteris*) in which were announced the objects for sale, with the place, the day, the hour, and the conditions of the sale. Thus Plautus in the Trinummus says, "*Ædes venales inscribit litteris*," that is, put forth a written announcement of the sale about to take place. The word *Tabula* itself sometimes is used for *this notice* (hence *Tabulâ perscribi*), and even for the auction itself, hence, "*tabulam perscribere*" came to mean the same thing, as "*Auctionem constituere.*" The goods for sale were called "*bona suspensa,*" because, as Seneca tells us, the advertisement was generally affixed to a pillar, etc., the representative of the more primitive *hasta.* Cicero uses more than once the phrase *ad tabulam adesse*, for being present at a sale, while Ovid's line has the same meaning, "*Sub titulum* nostros misit avara lares," that is, compelled me to sell my house. At the sale itself, the *licitator* or bidder held up his finger (*digitum tollebat*), hence *digito licitus est* in one of Cicero's orations against Verres means—that the goods were knocked down to him.

But the most important person present at the sale was the *Argentarius* (the banker or money-changer), who acted as a sort of middle man between the buyer and the seller, recording the objects exhibited for sale, and the price asked for them, at the conclusion handing over the money, if so required, to the seller. Hence the *Argentarius* was often naturally called *Magister Auctionis*—the master of the sale—his office

being clearly a double one—(1), to hand over to the seller (*Auctor* or *Auctionator*) the proceeds of the sale; and (2), in his special function of banker, in which he does not generally seem to have acted merely as the organ for the transmission of the money, but rather as an anticipator of certain payments from his own resources (*Mensa Argentaria*). A passage in Cicero (ad Attic. xiii. 13), and a curious dialogue in Lucian (where Mercury appears as the auctioneer) gives the names of the buyers as well as the price.

On these Pompeian tablets, however, the name of the vendor rarely occurs, but, instead of this, the name *L. Cœcilius Jocundus* (the gentleman in whose house they were found) is almost invariably met with. He is evidently the *Argentarius* who received from the seller certain acquittances for the proceeds of the sale which he either held himself or paid over. The presence of an *Argentarius* was always considered to be necessary as securing public authority to a given sale; the writings he committed at the time to his waxed tablets (with the words *acceptum* or *expensum*), being held, in the courts, to be evidence for the purchaser, and proof that he had really made the purchase and that he had duly paid for it. The *Argentarius* may therefore be considered as, in this respect, not unlike our public notaries, the more so that, if the money was not paid, he could at once sue for it. I have been thus particular in mentioning these matters, because they illustrate the documents I am now describing; indeed, without some such notice, the documents themselves would hardly be intelligible[8].

[8] I am bound to add, however, that not being myself a lawyer, there are one or two phrases, about the exact meaning of which I am in some

It is quite clear that these *tabulæ* are, in fact, the private notes of this Pompeian banker, *Jocundus*, though, as many of the dates on them go back to a period considerably earlier than the destruction of the town, we have no means of telling whether any, or how many of them, represent credits still existing at that date. The constant use of the word *perscriptio* shows that the document refers to a *payment by delegation*, that is, a payment not made on account of the person who actually executes the deed, but on that of a third party (*perscribi* was the *technical* word for payment through the agency of a banker), that is to say, a man is represented as borrowing from his banker with the object of paying a previous debt. Many of the contracts of L. C. Jocundus clearly show that they represent credits acquired by him, by the consignment of certain sums to a third party, who was the creditor of the same person who had become the debtor of the banker. After the word *perscriptio* follows always the name of the person to whom the banker makes the payment, the name being, as might be expected, as a rule in the dative, though sometimes in the *genitive*. The names are those of persons who have sold at the auction, or who have given their acquittance for the sums received. When in the genitive, the word *auctionis* may be understood. Thus in No. 78 we find *Perscriptio Minisi Fructi, i.e.*, auctionis Minisi Fructi. It is interesting that, in these documents,

doubt. Thus there is the constant phrase *mercede minus persoluta*, as the condition on which the *Argentarius* apparently advances the various sums named, this "*merces*" being clearly the commission the *Argentarius* charged, and would, therefore, naturally deduct.

there are scarcely any references to the goods sold, a further proof, as it seems to me, that they are rather banker's notes than detailed statements of sales. On No. 80, however, we find *Perscriptor fenarum* (it ought to be, of course, *fenorum*), referring obviously to a sale of hay, the name of the seller, Turdus, the day of the month and the sum being given.

I think I have now laid before you a general description of these *tabulæ*, but I should like to add to this brief notice a few more particulars. As I have previously stated, these *tabulæ*, though perhaps little more than the banker's memoranda, are, in their construction at least, formal State documents. Thus they are all, or, at all events, *have been*, dated by the date of the Consuls of the year when the sale took place; the names, also, of the chief magistrates of the town itself are likewise constantly given. Of the former (the Consuls), no less than 38 are recorded, among whom we find the well known names C. Drusus Cæsar (the earliest, B.C. 15) L. Annæus Seneca, the Emperor Nero, M. Fonteins Capito, M. Valerius Messalla, and M. Ostorius Scapula—the conqueror of the western part of Britain, and of Mona, or Anglesey. The latest date recovered is that of P. Marius Celsa, A.D. 62, nine years before the eruption of Vesuvius; but, of course, it does not follow that there may not have been many *tabulæ* in this box for each one of the eight years following: only these have not been as yet decyphered. Of the local magistrates, or *Duumviri*, 13 names have been preserved, among which I may notice those of C. Cornelius Macer, and of Sextus Pompeius Proculus. The

number of separate *auctioneers* amounts to 74, and the whole number of Roman names of all classes to 404, if I have counted them correctly. Of these between 60 and 70 have been previously met with on other Pompeian remains. It is interesting to see, on looking through this list, to how large an extent the Roman Empire, or, perhaps, it would be better to say, the chief towns in the western portion of it, had, towards the middle of the first century, been leavened with a population of Greek descent. Thus, among the 404 names noticed above, I observe no less than 113 that are simply Greek names with Latinized terminations, the majority being no doubt those of slaves, who either wrote the *tabulæ* or who acted as witnesses to the different deeds. I have before noticed the same fact on the brick stamps, procured by Mr. Parker at Rome, of which I gave an account to this Society, some four or five years ago. On both the Pompeian tablets and on the brick stamps, we find, also, a considerable number of Latin names of strange form, such as are not met with among the titles of families purely of Roman descent. These, even where the actual word *servus* is omitted, we may be sure are those of the servile class of Roman society. Specimens of such names are, *Secundio*, *Optatus*, *Verna*, *Fructio*, *Godio*, *Felicio*, *Restitutus*, *Ampliatus*, *Caviatus*, *Sornio*, and the like.

With regard to the language of these inscriptions, I may remark that the genitives singular from *ius* are almost always simply ; that *p* is used for *ph* and *f*, thus we find *Chirograpi* for Chirogra*phi*, Palepati for

Palæphati; that *s* is constantly inserted after the *x*, as *dixsit*, *Maxsimus*; that, in some cases, *ob auctione* is used for the more classical *ob auctionem*; that we find the twofold form *in stipulatum venit*, and *in stipulatu venit* and that Sester*tios* and Sester*tia* occur indifferently. Probably some of these variations are due to the unskilled hands of the writers of these documents; anyhow they are no evidence of either a local dialect or of the "*Vulgar Latin*" of which we used to hear so much some years ago.

There is yet another matter of interest to students of Antiquity, on which these *Pompeian Tablets* throw a good deal of light, and this is the form of the current Roman handwriting at or soon after the Augustan period. It was the common belief of the scholars of the last century, when Pompeii and Herculaneum had been but very partially cleared out, that whenever in inscriptions Roman words were met with, written in what may be called a *scrawly hand*, this bad writing was simply the result of ignorance, the work, in fact, of some uneducated Roman boor. By degrees, however, it has been acknowledged that this was a very narrow view of the matter, the publication, now some years since, of the *Graffiti di Pompei* by an illustrious *Abate*, having pretty well disposed of this notion.

It was clear from these writings—confirmed as they have been by many inscriptions and portions of inscriptions found by Mr. Parker and others in the catacombs at Rome and Naples, and in more than one place in the north of Italy, that there was a regular cursive character, as we might *à priori* have

felt sure there must have been, in which the miscellaneous business of Rome and of her provinces was written, and in which, indeed, and not in the so-called *uncial* letters of formal *inscriptions*, Cicero doubtless wrote his *Letters* and Cæsar his *Commentaries*. The Pompeian tablets to which I have been calling attention fully confirm this view; indeed, it is impossible not to see that they represent a style of writing thoroughly well known, one, too, not recently invented, but which had grown up gradually as the necessity was felt for it. All this makes one hope that a complete set of photographs of these and other similar documents may be made public ere long, if, indeed, by this time, many of them have not altogether perished, leaving no record but the copies of the inscriptions to which I have been referring.

But the Pompeian *tabulæ* do more than this: just as we might have inferred the necessity of a *cursive* handwriting, so must we also that of a *shorthand* writing analogous, at least, in its use, to what we have learnt from Gurney or Pitman. That the Greeks had a form of shorthand has been long known, the marks being called *σημείοι*; indeed Evagrius, as quoted by Montfaucon, speaks of men, *γράφειν ἐς τάχος ἠσκησμένους*, persons skilled to write with rapidity, in fact, professors of shorthand, or tachygraphy. That the same practice must have been in use at Rome, the line I quoted from Martial and the statement of Quinctilian sufficiently prove. It is difficult to believe that any one could write, on a substance like wax, as fast as an orator could speak, unless he was well practised in the art of

making abbreviations. Now, that this was so, the plate from the Pompeian tablets appended to this paper shows clearly: not only are there several evident contractions, but there are one or two single marks or scratches, which are well known abbreviations of individual words, a short-hand, in fact, if not so artistic or so elaborate as our more modern types. Many, indeed, of what are strictly *lapidary* inscriptions show a tendency to a sort of shorthand. This may be seen on one published in the *Bullettino dell' Instituto* of Rome in 1831, and in Letronne's memoir on the Greek writings on the so-called statue of Memnon, published in the 2nd vol. of the first series of the Transactions of this Society. Still more clearly do we see the same tendency in the *potters' marks* at the bottom of the red Samian ware vessels in the collections of the British Museum and elsewhere. On many of these earthenware inscriptions the use of both the *stylus* can readily be traced, as well as the *pen and ink*. Of the last character I may mention that we have an excellent example in a cursive Assyrian inscription from Nimrud. In the case of the Samian pottery both *stylus* and pencil were used before the clay was baked, the result being that the forms of the letters, which often run one into the other, is constantly modified; the general character of a form analogous to shorthand writing being thus produced.

I will only, in conclusion, advert to another case, in which similar documents are said to have been found, to which I referred at the commencement of this paper. It is this: Some forty years ago, Dr. Massmann, who had clearly shown his capacity

as an interpreter of strange and ancient records by more than one valuable work, published at Munich a monograph, in which he described, in great detail, the discovery in certain abandoned gold mines of Dacia, of two tablets, closely resembling the Pompeian tablets.

For reasons I do not know, some doubts have arisen as to the genuineness of the discovery, though no one has impugned Dr. Massmann's learning.[9]

It has been stated that the two tablets are forgeries, and that Dr. Massmann has since admitted himself to be the forger : but, if so, it is a forgery unique in character and execution. The forger, to perform his part, must have *imagined* what might be found, nearly forty years later, at Pompeii, and must have had the most remarkable power of "evolving out of his inner consciousness," the style and the characters of the tablets he published. The writing on Dr. Massmann's tablets is almost one with that on those from Pompeii ; and it may fairly be asked where could he have found any such to copy from ?

I ought to add that Dr. W. Smith, no friend of credulity, "Dictionary of Antiquities" (1st ed. of

[9] I may, perhaps, be here allowed to add that the late Sir Frederic Madden, a man pre-eminently competent to decide on questions of palæography, at first had grave doubts as to the genuineness of Dr. Massmann's *Tabulæ*, and made his doubts public ; but, having some years afterwards had an opportunity of examining them more minutely, he gave up his previous opinion, further stating, with an unusual honesty, that he had been previously misled, and that, to the best of his (later) knowledge, there was no ground whatever for impugning either Dr. Massmann's veracity or the genuineness of the remarkable tablets he was the first to publish, and which any one may see in the public Museum at Pesth.

1842, as well as in his amended and 2nd ed. of 1857), entirely accepts the statements of Dr. Massmann, and further, that a far higher authority, and a still more competent scholar, Dr. Henzen, the editor of the third volume of Orelli's "*Thesaurus* of Latin Inscriptions," published in 1856, when giving Massmann's inscriptions in full, adds the words, "*De sinceritate tabularum male dubitavit Letronnius.*" I have myself looked through Letronne's critical article in the "Journal des Savants" for 1841, and must confess I am not impressed with the sagacity, in this instance, at least, of this renowned Greek scholar. Without, then, presuming to say more than that I think Dr. Massmann's story may be fairly accepted, I may state that the two tablets he describes have a remarkable likeness to those to which I have called attention.

It would seem that he had at the time he published his Treatise *two waxen tablets*, in a nearly perfect state of preservation, one of which had been found four or five miles from the village of Abrudbanya, in a disused gold mine, and the other in a similarly disused mine in the village itself. Both these *tabulæ* were *triptychs*—that is, consisted of three tablets each—one being of fir, the others of beech wood; their respective size being what we might call small 8vo. The outer part of the two outside tablets of each exhibits the plain surface of the wood, portions having been evidently once covered with wax, now almost black,—with a raised margin all round.

The middle tablet has wax on both sides, so that each of these *tabulæ* originally comprehended *four*

pages covered with wax. The edges are pierced through with holes for fastenings. The wax is not thick on either, and is somewhat thinner on the beechen *tabulæ*, where the *stylus* of the writer has cut through the wax into the wood. There are letters on both,—those on the beechen one being the least distinct—and the beginning of the first tablet contains some Greek letters, the meaning of which has not been satisfactorily made out. The writing on the fir-wood *tabulæ* is evidently the copy of a document relating to a *Collegium*, and as the names of the Consuls of the years are added, we know that the date of this instrument is A.D. 169.

I will only add that if hereafter it should be proved that Dr. Massmann is to be enrolled among the already too long list of literary forgers, the book he has written about his forgery will still remain, and be justly deemed, as, indeed, Letronne admits, a remarkable monument of sound scholarship and learning.

Transcription of Tablet on annexed page.

To the right, the names of the witnesses, much defaced—

A. MESSI.—Q. ARRI.—T. SORNI —N. HERENNII. C — — IVSTI
. . . . . N . . . . CM . . . . M. ANTI (STI). PRIMIG. . .
. . M. AVRELI. FELIC (IS).—

To the left, across the Tabula—

H. S. N. OO. C. O.O. LXXXV. QVAE. PECVNIA. IN. STIPVLATV. VENIT. CAECI. IVCVND. OB. ANCTIONEM. DVXIT. REM. C. IVLI. ONESIMI. IN. IDVS. JVLIAS. PRIMAS. MERCEDE. MINVS. NVMERATAS. ACCEPISSSE. DIXIT. C. JVLIVS. ONESIMVS. AB. M. FABIO. AGATHINO. NOMINE. L. CAECILI. JVCVNDI.

ACTVM. POMPEIS. VI. IDVS. MAIAS.

M. ACILIO. AVIOLA. M. ASINIO. MARCELLO. COS.

THE WAX TABLETS OF POMPEII, AND THE BRONZE TABLE OF ALJUSTREL.

BY C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

(Read 23rd January, 1878.)

SOME apology may seem to be due to this Society for so soon bringing again before it a subject already carefully worked out by our Secretary. But the author of the first paper read before us himself promoted my continuing the discussion, when I mentioned that I believed myself to be in possession of materials for the illustration of our common subject, which had apparently escaped his own research. I have given to the present paper a heading somewhat different from that under which the subject was first brought before our members, because I have thought I could make my treatment of it somewhat more complete by reference to a Bronze Table recently discovered in Portugal, which, in part at least, is also concerned with the law of sale by auction.

The authority whose guidance I shall principally follow this evening in laying before you some of the prevailing Continental views on the Pompeian Tablets first brought to our notice by Mr. Vaux, is that of a French Professor, distinguished for his studies in Greek and Roman jurisprudence, M. Caillemer, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Lyons. His learned and valuable dissertation on the Pompeian tablets was read before the fifteenth

Annual Congress of the Delegates of the Learned Societies of France (Réunion des Délégués des Sociétés Savantes) held at the Sorbonne from the 4th to the 7th April, 1877. It was briefly analysed in the Report of the Congress given in the excellent summary of "Travaux Académiques" in the number for May–June, 1877, of the "Revue Générale du Droit et de la Jurisprudence en France et à l'Etranger" (Paris: E. Thorin), which also contains a notice by one of the Editors, M. Joseph Lefort, of Professor Soromenho's Report on the Table of Aljustrel. The full text of M. Caillemer's paper is printed as an article in the number for July-August, 1877, of the "Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger" (Paris: Larose), and that will be my authoritative source for the views expressed by the learned writer, both on the Pompeian Tablets and the Table of Aljustrel.

Concerning M. Caillemer, and the esteem in which he is held, I need only say that the Faculty over which he has been appointed to preside, although of recent creation, is one to which the State attaches considerable importance. The opening discourse pronounced by M. Charles Giraud,[1] of the Institute, tells in eloquent language how long its establishment had been the desire of the people of Lyons. "Promised by the Government of July; on the point of being granted by the Empire; it is the President of the Republic," says M. Giraud, "who to-day pays this long-standing debt of France to the great city of Lyons." While of the Faculty itself, and of its Dean, he says,

[1] Printed in the "Revue de Législation Ancienne et Moderne" for November–December, 1875. (Paris: Thorin.)

"Under the direct government of a Dean whose learning is held in honour throughout Europe . . . planted on the borderland of the two great currents of our early juridical civilisation, with so many historical monuments before its eyes, and brought face-to-face with the fervid activity of Lyons, it may take an exceptional position among the Faculties of France. . . . . The creation of yesterday, it already enjoys the countenance of the Magistracy, the Bar, and citizens of Lyons." It cannot but be worth our while to know what the occupant of so distinguished a position has to say about the Tablets of Pompeii. In the first place, M. Caillemer points out[2] how extremely prevalent sales by auction had become in the reign of Nero. There were forced sales, and sales of property belonging to communities, and to the Treasury; sales by heirs who inherited things which were useless to them; sales by proprietors who owned things no longer of use; sales by borrowers who had no credit, and were obliged to turn their property into ready money. Such and so many were the roads that led to the "*Atrium Auctionarium*" in the days of Nero. Thus were sold Pompey's old clothes, and battered silver cups, and hideous old slaves[3]. This was the course recommended by Cato to small farmers who wanted to get rid of their old furniture or of their corn, and wine, and oil. "*Auctionem uti faciant*," was the universal cry in the hard times of Divus Nero.

[2] Referring to Pliny, Ep. vii, 11, § 1.
[3] Cicero, Philippica ii, 29, § 73.
[4] Cato, De Re Rustica, 2.

But a sale, says M. Caillemer, implies public officers, whose duty it should be to put up the articles for sale, receive the bids, and adjudge to the highest bidder. Such, in fact, he continues, was the function of the *Auctionatores* at Pompeii, and to this class belonged that Cæcilius Jucundus whose Tablets form the subject of our present investigation.

One of the first questions which meets us on the very threshold of our enquiry is the nature of the office of *Auctionator*. Was the position one which could be filled by any chance comer? Or must we not rather hold that men upon whose integrity and fitness so much depended had something, at least, of an official character impressed upon them? Mr. Vaux seems to have held that the seller was also the *Auctionator*, and such appears to have been the view expressed by the author of the principal Italian work on this subject, Signor De Petra,[5] who has published all the texts hitherto deciphered. But the opposite view is taken by M. Caillemer, who considers the *Auctionator* to have been the officer who presided over the sale. Mommsen, it appears, goes even further,[6] and attributes an official character

[5] Le Tavolette cerate di Pompei rinvenute a' 3 e 5 Luglio, 1875. Memoria del Prof. Giulio De Petra, Direttore del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Roma, Tip. Salviucci, 1876. Estratto dal Tomo 3°, Serie IIa. degli Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

M. Caillemer, *op. cit.*, referring to this work, says, "M. De Petra applique le mot *auctionator* au propriétaire qui fait une vente à l'encan. Il nous semble que ce nom convient mieux à l'officier qui préside aux enchères." I cite the edition which I possess of Sig. De Petra's monograph, procured for me in Naples, by the kindness of a friend, as being the original reprint from the Transactions of the Academy of the Lincei, before which Sig. De Petra's paper was read on the 23rd April, 1876.

[6] "Hermes," xii, p. 99 *et seq.*, quoted by M. Caillemer.

to the mere *præcones*, or criers, whom he compares to the *apparitores* and other subordinate officials. We know from inscriptions, argues Mommsen, that there were *auctionatores* or *coactores* attached exclusively to certain markets, *e.g.*, to the *Portus Vinarius*, and the *Forum Vinarium*, for we find such titles as *argentarius coactor de portu vinario*, and *coactor vinarius de foro vinario*, showing the existence of officers with a fixed local authority.

Sales might take place anywhere, but as a matter of fact they were usually held in a hall which the auctioneer either owned or rented. They were announced by the crier: "Præco ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas," as M. Caillemer aptly quotes.[7] They were advertised, and the prototypes of the hoardings covered with miscellaneous announcements which greet our eyes in the Strand, or at the stations of the Underground Railway have been found in the Street of the Goldsmiths, and in the wynd, or narrow passage, by the house of Eumachia, abutting on the Forum of Pompeii. It was the *Præco* who showed the articles which were for sale: who declared the prices at which they were put up, and urged the bidders to activity. His functions, therefore, partook largely of the character of those which we now attribute to the auctioneer, but yet he was not the *Auctionator* of Nero's days. The latter officer stood by, or sat, as the opportunity may have offered, and being something like the Prætor, we may imagine, "*Vir pietate gravis*," took note of the bids, as they were signified by the nods or lifted fingers of the would-be purchasers, and knocked

[7] Horace, De Arte Poetica, v. 419.

down the articles to the highest bidder. When the sale took place *præsenti pecunia*, the buyer at once paid the price and received the delivery of the thing sold. Even under these circumstances, however, the facts of the sale and the names of the parties were carefully registered in the books of the *Auctionator*, so that at need the name of the buyer could easily be ascertained. In the case of property of considerable value, a stipulation for delay might be entered into between the buyer and the *Auctionator*. In the time of Gaius an *Auctionator* who brought an action against a buyer in virtue of such a stipulation before delivery of the thing sold, was subject to an *exceptio*, which, however, could be met by a *replicatio*, granted by the Prætor in cases where the *Auctionator* had taken the precaution to declare at the outset that there would be no delivery until the price was paid. The obligation on the part of the *Auctionator* to pay over the sale price to the vendor was also the subject of a stipulation "*Venditor stipulatur pretium rerum quæ in venditionem datæ sunt.*" (Dig. L. 88, De Solutionibus.)

Now there are some points in this transaction just described to which I would ask your most careful attention. I have followed my principal authority, M. Caillemer, in the description which I have placed before you of a sale by auction, its modes, and its effects in the time of Nero.

But in considering the question of the Roman law of sale, with special reference to my present subject, I have been struck by some suggestions in Professor W. A. Hunter's recent work on Roman Law,[8] which

[8] "A Systematic and Historical Exposition of Roman Law in the

I deem it right to lay before you, as I do not find that M. Caillemer has alluded to the particular difficulty which Professor Hunter would fain solve. It may be laid down that three things were required to constitute the contract of sale: (1) a thing to be sold; (2) a price to be paid; (3) an agreement between two persons to give the price for the thing. "The obligation of simple delivery was often created by stipulation. It is, therefore," says Professor Hunter, "scarcely a conjecture to affirm that sales were made by stipulations, and that those stipulations that were most convenient were most generally used. And," he proceeds, "it is quite within the mark to say that the law of sale in its latest form consisted of stipulations taken for granted." I think the study of the Pompeian Tablets will show us that Cæcilius Jucundus, at least, was very careful in hedging himself round with stipulations.

But there is yet another point connected with the Roman law of sale to which I must draw your attention. The seller, we have seen, was bound to "transfer merely the possession, and not the ownership of the thing sold." Why was this? It might have been thought that the buyer would consider that he had a right to ask the vendor to made a good title. The reason of this seeming anomaly is believed by Professor Hunter to be that "if the seller had been required to make a good title, aliens (*peregrini*) could neither have bought nor have sold, since they could not be owners *ex jure Quiritium*. But they could possess, and therefore an obligation

order of a Code." By W. A. Hunter, M.A., Professor of Roman Law, University College, London. W. Maxwell and Son. 1876.

to deliver possession, combined with warranty against eviction, gave them as complete rights as it was possible they could have in Roman Law."

However this may be, it is clear that the *auctionator* was a medium of communication between two parties who remained legally strangers to each other. And upon this go-between it was that the loss fell if the buyer turned out to be a man of straw. On the other hand, if the *Auctionator* became insolvent, the buyer was under no risk of an action. The bonds which were created by the stipulations to which I have already referred, could only be loosened by strict legal forms,[9] as many of the Pompeian Tablets bear witness. Cæcilius Jucundus was a cautious man; probably his dealings tended to make him so. Anyhow, it is certain that he kept among his deeds some acquittances which were forty-seven years old, for there are two Tablets, we learn, one of A.D. 27, and the other of A.D. 15 (De Petra, Tavolette, Nos. 1 and 2). When he paid his debts, he walled himself in with precautions against the remotest possibility of ulterior claims. He began, M. Caillemer thinks, with an *acceptilatio*. On handing over the money to his creditor, he addressed to him the ceremonial question (question sacramentelle): *Habesne acceptum?* to which the seller answered, *Habeo*. This, says M. Caillemer, is no doubt not the *acceptilatio* that we find in the Institutes, at a time when Jurists have come to

[9] "Such forms," says Mr. Sandars, in his Commentary on Inst. III, 29, "were too solemn in the eyes of the law to lose their power, unless other forms equally solemn were gone through." (Institutes of Tustinian. By T. C. Sandars, M.A. Longmans, 1878, p. 390).

define it as *imaginaria quædam solutio.* But it is, he affirms, *acceptilatio* such as it must have been in its origin, at a time when verbal obligations being only capable of extinction *verbis*, it was the necessary complement and consequence of the payment. In addition to this, however, Cæcilius Jucundus took yet another precaution. Wishing to put on record the transaction by which he barred claims against him, he caused a statement of the *acceptilatio* to be written on Tablets, and procured its signature by his creditor, and as many witnesses as he could obtain. Thus we find, in a Tablet of which M. Caillemer gives the full text, that M. Lucretius Carus solemnly recognised that he had received from L. Cæcilius Jucundus the sum named on the Tablet, on account of the sale of his property by auction, which sum had been stipulated by Jucundus, deducting therefrom the *honoraria* due to him, and which amounted in the given case to one-fiftieth. This brings me to a point touched upon by Mr. Vaux, viz., the correct rendering of the phrase "*Mercede minus numeratos,*" which constantly occurs in the Tablets. M. Caillemer translates it in the very way that seemed to Mr. Vaux the only reasonable rendering, viz., as I have given it above, or in M. Caillemer's own language, "déduction faite des honoraires."[10] In the time of Cicero this commission which the Roman

[10] Mommsen appears to favour the same view, if he may be taken to admit the fusion which I suppose to have existed in the case of Cæcilius Jucundus, and probably in many other such cases, of the positions of *argentarius* and *auctionator*. For De Petra tells us, *op. cit.*, p. 10, "*mercede minus.* Mi avverte il Mommsen che *mercede* vale qui il tanto per cento che *l'argentarius* riceveva per la sua mediazione nella vendita all' incanto."

auctioneer took as his profit amounted to 1 per cent.; as we have it stated in his own words, "Accessio, ut nostri facere coactores solent, centesimæ."[11] The rapid increase of the auctioneer's business to which I have already alluded made this apparently small honorarium very profitable. Moreover, it appears that this percentage could be increased, for one of the Pompeian Tablets records a *merces quinquagesima*, *i.e.*, 2 per cent. And we are told that another Tablet carries the commission as high as 8 per cent.[12] So it would seem that there was only a minimum fixed by law, while higher charges might be made by agreement. When the sale did not take place *presenti pecunia*, and the *auctionator* made a stipulation with the buyer, this stipulation included not only the purchase money, but also several *accessiones*; and in that case it was said that the whole sum "*in stipulatu veniebat.*"

Generally speaking, the *auctionator* had to advance the purchase money, which he paid over to the vendor as the proceeds of the sale. For instance, we see by an inscription of which M. Caillemer gives the full text, that Cæcilius Jucundus paid over to Julius Onesimus the amount of the sale of certain box-wood, on the 6th of the Ides of May, although the money was not due till the 1st of the Ides of the following July. It is obvious, therefore, that the *auctionator* must needs have been a man of

[11] Cicero, Pro Rabirio Postumo, ii, 30.

[12] De Petra, "Tavolette," Nos. 8 and 113.

In Egypt, under the Lagidæ, the commission was usually 5 per cent., but sometimes as high as 10 per cent. (Lumbroso, "Economie Politique de l'Egypte sous les Lagides," p. 303, *et seq.*, cited by M. Caillemer.)

substance, and have had great command of ready money. And this aspect of his position brings me to the consideration of the question concerning the identity of the *auctionator* with the *argentarius.* Following M. Caillemer, as I have done throughout in my description of the *auctionator*, and considering him to have filled a position answering in essentials to that of our auctioneer, I should say that not every *argentarius* was also an *auctionator*, but that probably the majority of the *auctionatores* in a large way of business were *argentarii.* I have no doubt that our friend L. Cæcilius Jucundus was a member of the *Collegium Argentariorum.* This Corporation was greatly favoured by the later Imperial legislation, and it must always have been a powerful body. Justinian gave its members a special hypothec on immoveables bought by their clients with money advanced by them.[13]

The same Emperor fused two actions, the Prætorian action *de pecunia constituta* (which might be brought against any one who engaged to pay money, either for himself or others, without a stipulation), and the *actio receptitia*, a remedy confined exclusively to contracts with *Argentarii.*[14]

There are some passages of the Digest, incidentally alluded to by Professor Hunter in the portion of his work treating of the Roman Law relating to the production of documents, which strike me as possibly shedding a light on the extreme care exhibited by Cæcilius Jucundus in preserving the records of his transactions. If he was, as I believe him to have

[13] Nov. 136, 3.
[14] Inst. iv, 6, 8

been, an *argentarius*, he might be compelled to produce his books in Court.[15] This liability would be ample reason for what might otherwise seem an excessive caution on his part.

The convenience of the combination of the functions of *auctionator* and *argentarius*, a convenience which must sometimes have amounted almost to a necessity, leads me to concur in the view expressed by M. Caillemer, that we see in it the reason why the one name is often synonymous with the other. Cæcilius Jucundus, in fact, appears to me to have been just such a man as the Jurist Scævola describes[16] under the title of *argentarius coactor*, and of whom he says, *pæne totam fortunam in nominibus habebat.*

In regard to the value of the Pompeian Tablets for the correction of the Consular Fasti, I am enabled from M. Caillemer's account to give one sample not mentioned by Mr. Vaux. There is a Tablet which Signor de Petra considers an authority sufficient to warrant him in transferring from A.D. 62 to the second half of A.D. 56 the Consulship of L. Annæus Seneca and L. Trebellius Maximus Pollio, the latter of whom gave his name to the *Senatus Consultum Trebellianum.* This is a considerable alteration, but it appears to be worked out from the evidence which Signor de Petra enjoys the advantage of having had before his eyes, and which we at a distance are scarcely in a position to dispute. As to the binding of the Pompeian Tablets, M. Caillemer remarks that it was not in accordance with the form prescribed in

[15] Dig: ii, 13, 4, pr., ii, 13, 9, 3.
[16] Dig: xl. § 7. "De Statuliberis." 40, 8.

Nero's reign, and of which Suetonius and the Jurist Paulus give the details.[17] Why this apparent irregularity existed I am not at present able to say. The tablets of Cæcilius Jucundus have not the triple perforation ordered, but only the perforation which served to bind them together as diptychs or triptychs. The form described by Suetonius and Paulus has, however, been found in a collection of military Diplomas and Tablets, of which several distinct discoveries have been made at intervals during the last hundred years at Vörospatak, in Transylvania. These Tablets, some of which have not yet, so far as I am aware, been deciphered, are described in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, III, pp. 903, 922, according to M. Caillemer. They also formed the subject of a valuable and most elaborate monograph by Dr. Massmann, entitled "Libellus Aurarius sive Tabulæ Ceratæ et antiquissimæ et unicæ Romanæ in Fodina Auraria, apud, Abrudbanyam, Oppidulum Transylvanum, nuper repertæ. Edidit Joannes Ferdinandus Massmann, Dr. Phil., Prof. Ordinarius in Univ. Monacensi. Lipsiæ, Weigel; Londini, Bohn." (No date on title page, but preface dated 1840.) For the opportunity of consulting this now rare work at my leisure, I am indebted to our Secretary, Mr. Vaux, while to another friend and member of our Society, Mr. J. W. Bone, I am indebted for a similar kindness, by which I have been enabled to refer, for the purposes of this paper, to a volume entitled "A Selection of Papers on subjects of Archæology and History," by

[17] *Nero*, 17: "Adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum ne tabulæ, nisi pertusæ ac ter lino per foramina trajecto, obsignarentur.'

Paulus, "*Sententiæ*," v, 25, § 6.

the late Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A. (Longmans, 1864), containing an interesting account of the Transylvanian Tablets. It is curious to note that Mr. Kenrick, writing long before the exploration of the house of Cæcilius Jucundus, seems to have felt it necessary to apologise for the apparent absence of wax tablets among the already fairly numerous Pompeian discoveries, by saying "that they should not have been found in Herculaneum or Pompeii, buried in volcanic mud and ashes, is not surprising." The deficiency which he thus accounted for has now been amply supplied by Pompeii. In the apt words of Signor De Petra, "Alla fine Pompei ha dato i suoi trittici, ed in tale abbondanza, che il trovamento è riuscito degno del luogo ove fu fatto, e di quello destinato ad accoglierlo." I have left myself, I fear, but little space or time to give any account of the other Inscription of which I promised at the outset that I would say something this evening, viz., that which appears on the Bronze Table of Aljustrel. A portion of the text is printed by M. Caillemer, as bearing upon the question of the various items which may have been included in the *merces* or commission of the *Auctionator*. It would appear from the Portuguese Table that in some cases, at least, the seller had to pay a charge called *præconium*, which was fixed either at so much per cent., or so much per article sold. It may be, therefore, that Cæcilius Jucundus had to pay the *præco*, as well as hire or purchase the hall in which his sales were effected. The Table of Aljustrel, as I mentioned in the earlier portion of my paper, has been noticed by M. Lefort as well as by M. Caillemer, and it has also been

commented upon by M. Charles Giraud. The time which I have had at my disposal has not admitted of my consulting more than the two authorities whose writings were in my possession. And unfortunately neither of these gives the whole of the text so far as it has been at present deciphered. The portion pointed out by M. Caillemer is, therefore, all that I can lay before you at present. On a future occasion I may return to the subject, and include some account of the Transylvanian Tablets to which I have had occasion to allude. In the brief notice of the Table of Aljustrel written by M. Lefort, attention is justly drawn to the richness of the Iberian Peninsula in this branch of epigraphy. Spain alone has yielded to us within a quarter of a century the Tables of Malaga, Salpensa, and Osuña; and now Portugal comes forward with the Table of Aljustrel. It is a Table[18] of bronze, measuring, according to the Continental standard, from 8 to 13 millimètres in thickness and 72 centimètres in height by 53 in breadth. Unfortunately the Table is broken at the right hand corner. From the character of the letters it is attributed to the latter part of the first century of the Christian era, and may, perhaps, be placed between the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian. It has been fully described by M. Soromenho,[19] Pro-

[18] In the absence of more precise data, I prefer keeping up in my own language the distinction which seems to be drawn by M. Caillemer between the "Tablettes de Pompéi," and the "Table d'Aljustrel." M. Lefort likewise applies the epithet "Table" to the Portuguese discovery. It will be observed, moreover, that Sig. De Petra's work is entitled "Le Tavolette Cerate," &c. The distinction is based, I presume, on the size, and not on the material employed.

[19] "La Table de Bronze d'Aljustrel; Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur par M. Auguste Soromenho, Lisbonne, Imp.

fessor of History at Lisbon, in a Report addressed to the Minister of the Interior in the course of 1877. It was found in the mine of Aljustrel, which belonged, says M. Lefort, to the "*Conventus Juridicus Pacencis*," and it contains the law relating to *locatio-conductio* which was in force within the limits of the district (*intra fines metalli Vipascensis*). The latinity is highly rustic, and M. Soromenho is of opinion that it embraces many words not found in other epigraphic monuments. He believes the Table to have been engraved with the same inscription on both sides, and that the present discovery is the third of a number of such Tables set up in various parts of the district for the information of the miners, and the other settlers whom the mineral wealth of the country attracted in considerable numbers. This mixed population was placed under the rule of the *Procurator Metallorum*,[20] who fixed the impost on the product of the mines, and adjusted the scale of the dues payable to the State for the exercise of any craft or trade within the district. These large administrative powers he fulfilled by deputy, and M. Soromenho thinks that we have in the Table of Aljustrel a sample of the terms on which the *Pro-*

Nat., 1877." See also, for a later account of the inscription and counter-claim to priority both in discovery and interpretation, Senhor Da Veiga's elaborate Memoir, read before the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, "A Tabula de Bronze de Aljustrel (Lisboa, Typ. da Academia, 1880)," kindly communicated to me by our Secretary.

[20] A State functionary, because mines belonged to the State. In the Imperial organization of the fifth century, there was a "Comes Metallorum," subordinate to the Count of the Sacred Largesses, and charged with the receipt of the proportion of revenue derivable by the State from gold, silver, and other mines. The mines of Aljustrel produced silver, copper, slate, and clay.

curator farmed out his functions. The *Conductor* mentioned in this table had, it would appear, the full *locatio conductio vectigalium, rerum, operarum et operis.* Being clothed with such extensive responsibilities, the *conductor* of Aljustrel had colleagues in the shape of a *socius*, and an *actor* (*sive syndicus, per quem quod communiter agi fierique oporteat, agatur, fiat*), and he was allowed to sub-let on taking due guarantees. The lease ran from the "*Pr*[*oximas*] *K*[*alendas*] *Jul*[*ias*] *Primas*," or 1st July, and the *merces* had to be paid at the beginning of each month, on pain of a fine of double the rent. Everything pertaining to the district was under the administrative direction of the *Procurator Metallorum*, and not the very smallest handicraft could be plied within his jurisdiction without his leave. Before concluding, I should like to draw attention to some of the language of the Table of Aljustrel, particularly to the apparently indifferent use of "sub" with the ablative and accusative, and to the employment of the two different radicals "caballos" and "equas" in the same sentence.

The materials which have at different periods of the world's history been used for writing might in themselves furnish the subject of a paper. In some excavations carried on by the Anthropological Institute at the camp of Cissbury,[21] in Sussex, a number of

[21] Described in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" for January and May, 1877, pp. 263 and 430, *et seq.*, in papers by Mr. J. Park Harrison, M.A., who had the principal charge of the excavations. Still more recent discoveries at Cissbury, since the reading of the present paper, appear to increase the probability that these marks really constitute a written character, though its affinities are still doubtful. Some authorities, we are told, believe it to be Turanian, if such a term may properly be applied to any system of writing.

marks have been discovered on the chalk forming the sides and roofs of the pits and galleries, bearing the appearance of an ancient written character. Like the Wax Tablets of Pompeii the material employed at Cissbury, when first used, would be soft and easy of manipulation; and in this again resembling the Pompeian writings, the Cissbury inscriptions (if such they be), have been for centuries hermetically sealed. The veil has now been partially lifted from both; it were well to seek to lift it higher, for the study of the materials used for writing cannot but throw light on the various phases of civilization. Silver and gold, bronze and copper, palm leaves and papyrus, stone and chalk, ivory and wax, may each and all be made to bear their part in unfolding to us many a chapter of varied and stirring interest in the History of Man.

Postscript.

It seems but right that I should add a few words by way of postscript on the new matter which has come to hand since this paper was read, in illustration of the Table of Aljustrel. M. Flach has reprinted his articles, which I cited from the *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit*, in an elegant pamphlet published by Larose, Paris, 1879. But as this is simply a reprint, I need only mention it as the most convenient form under which M. Flach's views can be studied.

The publication by Senhor Estacio da Veiga of his Text and Commentary[22] is of considerable impor-

[22] "A Tabula de Bronze de Aljustrel, lida, deduzida e commentada em 1876. Memoria apresentada á Academia Real das Sciencias de

tance both in regard to the claim advanced for priority of discovery over Senhor Soromenho, and for the interesting evidence it affords of the substantial identity of the two distinguished Portuguese epigraphists. I do not think that I can better state my conclusions as to the question raised by Senhor Da Veiga than in the words applied to it in an article entitled "Roman Law in England and Belgium," in the *Law Magazine and Review*, No. ccxlii, for November, 1881.

"The two men (Soromenho and Da Veiga)," says the writer, "both ardent archæologists and epigraphists, were already at work upon the new treasure the moment its discovery was announced by the Trans-Tagus Mineral Company, on whose works it was found. It seems probable that Senhor Da Veiga had the actual first intimation of the find, and that he went at once to the spot, made all due investigation into the circumstances of the discovery, and set to work immediately upon the reading of the inscription. There are, of course, minor points of exegesis in which Senhor Da Veiga takes a different line from Soromenho. But these are simply differences between two scholars, such as are always to be expected, more or less, in questions of epigraphy or palæography."

The substantial identity of the several readings of the Table of Aljustrel is the salient fact which I desire here to record, as a guarantee for the position claimed on its behalf in the *Law Magazine and Review* as a valuable monument of the "rigid system

Lisboa, por S.P.M. Estacio Da Veiga, socio correspondente da mesma Academia. Lisboa. Typographia da Academia, 1880."

of caste, of monopoly, and of regulation of life and labour, under which men lived in the mining districts of the Roman Empire."

Text of the Table of Aljustrel, so far as relates to the subject of Præconium. From the "Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit" (Paris, Larose) 1877, *p.* 408.

[Compared with and corrected by the text of Senhor da Veiga, whose readings are inserted within brackets.]

"Scripturæ præconii. Qui præconium conduxerit præconem intra fines præbeto. Conductor ab eo qui venditionem X L minoremve fecerit centesimas duas, ab eo qui maiorem X C fecerit centesimam exigito. Qui mancipia sub præcone [m] venumdederit, si quinque minoremve numerum vendiderit, capitularium in singula capita X, si maiorem numerum vendiderit in singula capita X III conductori socio actorive ejus dare debeto. Si quas res proc. m[e]tallorum nomine fisci vendet locabitve, iis rebus conductor socius actorve ejus præconem præstare debeto . . . Qui mulos, mulas, asinos, asinas, caballos, equas, sub præcone vendiderit, in KI, X III. d.d. Qui mancipia aliamve quam rem sub præconem subiecerit et intra dies XXX de condicione vendiderit, conductori socio actorive eius . . . d.d."

NOTES ON THE SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE, EXECUTED FOR THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

BY TRELAWNEY SAUNDERS.

[Read November, 23, 1881.]

I HAVE been requested by your learned Secretary to bring under your notice this evening the first instalment of the Survey of the Holy Land which the Committees and Subscribers of the Palestine Exploration Fund have for so many years persevered in producing.

This portion of the Survey of Palestine extends from the Kasimîyeh or Litany River on the north to Gaza and Beersheba on the south, and from the Mediterranean Sea on the west to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea on the east. It has been executed by a party of Royal Engineers trained on the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, and under the command of Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener.

The whole of the surveyed area covers more than 6,000 square miles. The survey occupied seven years in the field, and more than two years in addition were spent on the preparation of the work for publication. The immediate results include :—(1) A large map on the scale of one mile to one inch, reproduced and published in 26 sheets, of which a joined-up copy is before you. (2) A reduction of the large map on the scale of about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles to an inch, in six

sheets, measuring when joined together 5 feet by 3. (3) Numerous special plans of towns, buildings, and ruins on large scales. (4) Memoirs composed from the field notes of the surveyors, and from abstracts of authentic works. (5) A list of more than 9,000 names of places in Arabic and English, with their signification. (6) Photographs, sketches, and other illustrations. The plans, memoirs, illustrations, and list of names are being combined in quarto volumes, three of which are published. Besides the reduced map of the Survey as it was completed by the surveyors, I have prepared an edition to define the river basins, and the main waterparting between the Mediterranean and Jordan watersheds. This special map also elucidates the mountain system. It is accompanied by vertical sections; and a contour line corresponding to the level of the Mediterranean Sea is indicated along the western slope of the Jordan basin. This special map will be accompanied by an octavo volume, entitled "An Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine; its Waterways, Plains, and Highlands." It has been prepared by me with the approval of the Committee of the Fund, and both the special map and the book will be published together in December.

I will now proceed to describe, within the short time at my disposal, the leading features of the country, as they are now revealed by the new Survey; which displays an accuracy, an amount of detail, and a distinctness never before obtained. The well known ancient divisions of Western Palestine into Upper Galilee, Lower Galilee, Samaria, Judæa, and Philistia are so concurrent with the distinctive features of the

ground, as to form convenient groups for the present purpose.

Upper Galilee.

The region of Upper Galilee includes the northern part of the large map before you. It has on the north the River Kasimîyeh or Litany, the ancient Leontes. On the south is the Nahr N'amein, the ancient Belus or Pagida, from its outfall into the Bay of Acre to its junction with Wady Halzun, along which the boundary proceeds to the Plain of Rameh; whence it crosses the head of the Rubudîyeh basin, and follows the lower part of the Wady Amûd, and the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee. On the west is the Mediterranean; and on the east is the Jordan, from the Sea of Galilee upwards. From the edges of this quadrilateral the country ascends to an elevated central plateau, by slopes which it is now possible to define and describe, with a knowledge of the features mainly due to the new Survey.

The Western Slope of Upper Galilee.

The slope towards the Mediterranean Sea and the Kasimîyeh river is broad and comparatively gradual; but it is so deeply intersected by gorges often walled in by precipitous rocks, as to cause the highways between the north and south to follow either the lowlands and cliffs which border the coast, or else the interior plateau, and the country to the eastward. The number of these gorges and intervening ridges is indicated by the fact that more than thirty streams have distinct outfalls into the Mediterranean, between the Kasimîyeh and Acre. Besides main streams

parallel branches make a considerable addition to these obstructions.

Previous to the survey it was impossible to distinguish between this slope and the edge of the plateau. But now the summit of the slope may be traced partly by observed altitudes; and partly by a difference in the watercourses which divides them into two classes, one rising on the slope and the other on the plateau beyond. Of the thirty distinct outfalls already mentioned, the majority belongs to the class of streams pertaining solely to the slope, and having their sources there; while four only belong to the other class, and spread their branches over the western half of the plateau. These four are the Hubeishîyeh, the 'Ezzîyeh, the Kerkera, and the Kûrn. The critical determination on the ground of the line of summits dividing the upper parts of these four basins from the basins of the slope, is a subject well deserving of the observation of competent travellers.

The varying features of the slope itself resolve it into three divisions, plainly indicated by the conditions of its base, which is found:—on the north, in the maritime plain of Tyre;—in the centre, between the cliffs forming the White Cape or Ras el Abiad, and the Hewn Cape or Ras en Nakura;—while in the south the base runs along the maritime Plain of Acre. The Ras el Abiad and the Ras en Nakura, or Tyrian Ladder of the ancients, are the precipitous terminations in the sea of spurs diverging from the central height of Khurbet Belat, which has an altitude of 2,467 feet, and forms a prominent feature in the line of the western summits. It is also the noted

site of a splendid panorama. Strictly speaking, the western slope from the Tyrian Ladder northwards belonged to Phœnicia rather than to Upper Galilee.

The Southern Slope of Upper Galilee.

On this side, the natural limits of Upper Galilee are well defined, both by the valleys that form the base of the slope, and by the line of altitude that marks the summit. The range rises from the maritime plain opposite Acre, and terminates on the Jordan, between the Sea of Galilee and the Jisr Benât Yakûb. Among the culminating points on the summits are Kûrn Henawy, Neby Heider, Jebelet el Arûs (alt. 3,520 feet), and Tell es Sanjak. The base is well defined at the centre of the range in the Plain of Rameh, on the west of which it protrudes southward in running to Wady Halzun. An increase of width is thus given to the slope, which is occupied by a terrace drained by Wady el Waziyeh, an affluent of Wady Halzun running parallel to it. This affluent is better known than the main stream, as it is skirted by the highway between Acre and the Sea of Galilee, and doubtless affords a better route than the lower and more contracted valley of the Halzun, which is, however, the true base of the slope. Eastward of the Plain of Rameh, the base line is traced through a complicated country to the Sea of Galilee. The tangle is unravelled in my "Introduction to the Survey." The range itself is deeply intersected by the gorge of the Amûd in descending from the plateau below Safed. The slope undergoes considerable expansion towards the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee.

The eastern slope by which the plateau of Upper Galilee descends to the Jordan displays three remarkable divisions. The northern part rises abruptly from the Huleh Plain (alt. 141 feet) to the summit of Jebel Hunin (alt. 2,951 feet). The centre rises from the margin of the Huleh papyrus marsh, and has its base in the same alignment as the northern part; but the summit falls back suddenly to the westward, and two terraces, one above the other, are formed along this part of the slope. The lower terrace is remarkable for the site of Kades, the famous Kedesh of Naphtali. The upper terrace, noticed by Dr. Robinson, contains the villages of el Malkiyeh, and Bellideh. Above the upper terrace is the summit of this eastern slope, which here also forms the waterparting between the Mediterranean and Jordan watersheds, and the eastern edge of the central plateau. The plateau is here drained by the Wady Selukieh, running northward into the Kasimîyeh.

The central terraces of the eastern slope are terminated by the deep and rocky gorge of Wady Hindaj, which breaks through the eastern range in its descent from the central plateau to the Jordan. The Hindaj divides the centre of the eastern slope from its southern part. This southern part is a prolongation southward of both the upper and lower scarps which respectively support and rise out of the plateau of Kades. It is extremely rough and rocky towards the north, and steep and wooded towards the south. Unlike the central southern parts its base does not descend to the Huleh plain, but rests on a low and broad incline, intersected by watercourses,

and spreading out from the buttresses that support the central plateau to the Huleh plain, which is here called the Ard el Kheit. It also differs from the rest of the eastern range in being no longer on the main waterparting which divides the Mediterranean and Jordan basins, and which here recedes eastward into the middle of the central plateau.

The Central Plateau of Upper Galilee.

It has been already observed that out of the thirty separate outfalls that empty the waters of Upper Galilee into the Mediterranean only four descend from the central plateau, or the elevated interior of the country, namely, the Hubeishîyeh, the 'Ezzîyeh, the Kerkera, and the Kûrn, the upper parts of which drain the western side of the plateau. The eastern side is included in the other basins, viz.: (1) the Kazimîyeh, through its affluents the Selukieh and Aizakaneh; (2) the upper parts of the basins of the Hindaj and Wakkas, falling into Lake Huleh; (3) the upper part of the basin of the Amûd, which descends from Safed southward into the Sea of Galilee; and (4) the inland basin of Meis, which has no superficial outlet. It is important to note that the successive meridional direction of the valleys both on the eastern and western sides of the plateau, afford facilities for communication between the north and south, in contrast to the interruptions which characterize the western slope. The plateau is therefore interesting to military students.

The interior of the plateau derives picturesque features from its intersection by mountainous ranges with their numerous spurs and valleys. From Jebel

Mugherat Shehâb, on the east of Jebelet el Arus, the latter being 3,520 feet above the sea, and the highest point on the southern range, another range runs north-westerly, crossing the plateau obliquely to Khurbet Belat on the western range. This line of heights has the basins of the Kûrn and Kerkera on the south-west, and those of Amûd, Hindaj and 'Ezzîyeh on the north-east. It may be called the Jermuk range, its highest point being Jebel Jermuk, 3,934 feet above the sea.

Another line of heights runs also obliquely from Deir el Ghabieh on the eastern range, to Khurbet el Yadhun on the western range. This line exceeds 3,000 feet at Jebel Marûn. It divides the basins of Hindaj and 'Ezzîyeh from those of the Selukieh or Kasimîyeh and the Hubeishîyeh. This line may be called the Marûn range.

The aspects of the country are thus described: On the south-west of the Jermuk range, the plateau consists of two main valleys of the upper Kûrn, and the heads of the Kerkera. The latter with one main branch of the Kûrn receives the south-western drainage of the Jermuk range. This branch of the Kûrn is situated, according to Dr. Robinson, in "a deep and vast valley," and the aspect of the country, viewed from Beit Jinn at the head of the valley in April, is said to be "bald, barren, and desolate in the highest degree." The other branch of the Kûrn drains the Bukeiah, which signifies a hollow between mountains, here forming a well-cultivated plain, and including among its population, who are chiefly Druzes, a few Jews, who are said to be the only Jews in Palestine engaged in agriculture, and who

claim descent from families settled in this remote highland from time immemorial. This branch of the Kûrn drains the interior slope of the western range. Between Teirshiha and Suhmata, the plain or hollow terminates in a deep and rocky gorge, at the outlet of which the two branches of the Upper Kûrn unite, before descending westward to the sea, through the deep and rocky bottom of the narrow neck, into which the basin contracts on the western slope.

The north-eastern side of the Jermuk range seems to be characterised by its plains, forming fine tracts of cultivated land, with plenty of pasture, woodlands, and orchards. Picturesque hills and valleys, and rocky glens, villages, and vestiges of antiquity; horses, cattle, and camels, sheep and goats, mules and asses, cats and dogs, poultry and game, birds and beasts of prey enliven the scene.

The plains spread out over the upper parts of the basins of el Amûd, Wakkas, Hindaj, and 'Ezzîyeh; and they extend from Meiron to el Jish and Delâta, Alma, Salhah, Yarun, and Rumeish. This wide circuit surrounds a higher tier of more undulating ground, backed by the Jermuk range, and containing the villages of Kefr Birim and Sasa. On the north the plains are bounded by the Marûn range, which forms a waterparting summit to a broad expanse of deeply fissured and densely wooded highland, abutting against the western range, which is indeed its escarpment towards the sea. Aligned between north-west and south-east, the Marûn range extends its spurs and valleys to the Upper 'Ezzîyeh on the south, and to the Upper Selukieh and the eastern and northern ranges. It also con-

tributes to the head of the Hubeishîyeh, where it is dominated by the famous Castle of Tibnin or Toron.

The Mountains of Lower Galilee.

The northern base of the mountains of Lower Galilee, is of course identical with the southern base of the mountains of Upper Galilee, which has been already described and explained. It will be sufficient to repeat now that the northern base line runs from the plain of Acre, along Wady el Halzun, Wady Shaib, Wady el Khashab, Wady en Nimr, Wady Said, Wady Maktûl, and Wady 'Amûd to the Sea of Galilee. The eastern limit is the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan. The western and southern limits are formed by the Plains of Acre and Esdraelon, and the Nahr Jalûd.

The difference in altitude between this region and Upper Galilee is relatively considerable; for while the latter nearly attains to a height of 4,000 feet, the hills of Lower Galilee never rise to 2,000 feet. The general features of the upland of Lower Galilee are also very different from Upper Galilee. They present a succession of parallel ranges, divided by broad plains; the ranges running between east and west, with a slight bend towards the north. These are:—

(1). The Northern or Shaghur Range,
(2). The Toran Range,
(3). The Nazareth Range,
(4). The Jebel Duhy Range,

which are treated in detail in my "Introduction." But the chief features of Lower Galilee are its noble plains.

In one long sweep, like a great gulf with bold inlets branching from it, the plain of the Mukutt'a, ancient Megiddo or Esdraelon, extends from the Bay of Acre, where it is dominated by Mount Carmel, along the foot of the Samaritan hills and the Nazareth range, up to Mount Gilboa, Jebel Duhy, and Mount Tabor, a distance of about thirty miles. From the Samaritan hills across the Mukutt'a to Mount Tabor is little short of fifteen miles.

From Carmel to Ras en Nakura the plain of Acre is spread out along the sea for twenty miles.

Connected with these larger features are the upland plains of Rameh, Buttauf and Toron; also the deep valleys of the Bireh and the Jalud or Jezreel, both of which drop down rapidly from the plain of Megiddo to the Jordan, where that river is depressed a thousand feet below the level of the Mediterranean, that level being a little to the east of the water-parting which divides the plain of Megiddo from the Jordan basin. The study of Lower Galilee may be taken up quite apart from that of the regions on either side of it, and the new Survey affords a very certain foundation to work upon.

The Highlands of Samaria and Judæa.

South of the line formed by the Rivers Mukutt'a and Jalud, no recognised features have hitherto served the purpose of dividing distinctly the long stretch of highland between Mount Carmel and Beersheba. Still, on approaching the subject, it is only reasonable to expect that in the course of a hundred miles, there must be variations that admit of being conveniently grouped, and that should not be over-

looked in a geographical description. But before the present survey, the best accounts of the country were too inadequate to enable any attempt of the kind to be carried out on the lines that will be now adopted. It was the great aim of Dr. Robinson's most able researches, "to collect materials for the preparation of a systematic work on the physical and historical geography of the Holy Land." Yet Dr. Robinson had to be content with little more than a general view of the subject, comprehending in one sweeping glance the whole region from Esdraelon to Hebron; and his details are confined to isolated accounts of the particular mountains mentioned in Scripture. The Survey of the Palestine Exploration Fund no longer allows the geographer to adopt such a method. Every important feature is now exposed in its length, breadth, and height; and thus it has become quite practicable to discern certain natural groups and divisions that serve to bring to light the distinctive characteristics of the different parts of the country, and facilitate intelligible description and convenient reference. In the famous article on Palestine in Dr. Wm. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Mr. George Grove has, indeed, dealt with the subject in this way, with regard to the varying aspects of the dryness or moisture, and vegetation; but it was mainly owing to his deep sense of the want of such a map as the present, after visiting the country, that he became the prime mover in organizing the Survey.

On the present occasion the country to the south of the Mukutt'a and Jalud will be described in six divisions, or natural groups, based upon the occur-

rence of distinctive features in the forms of the ground.

The first extends from the Mukutt'a and Jalud to the Wadys Shair and el Humr.

The second follows, with the Wady Ballut and Wady el Auja for its southern boundary.

The third reaches from thence to the Wady Malakeh, Shamy, el Delbeh and Hamis on the western slope; and Wady Muheisin, Rummamaneh, and Nueiameh on the Jordan side.

The fourth is bounded on the south by the affluents of Nahr el Auja, which pass from Ludd to the southernmost point of the waterparting of the Auja basin, near Eshûa; thence across the waterparting to Wady es Surar in the basin of Nahr Rubin, proceeding along that wady eastward by Wady en Nusarah, Ismain, es Sikkeh, and Ahmed across the main waterparting between the Mediterranean and Jordan basins to Wady et Tahuneh on the south of Bethlehem, and onwards to the Dead Sea by the outfall of that watercourse.

The fifth and sixth divisions embrace respectively the Mountains of Judah on the east, and the lowland hills and plains of Philistia on the west.

The grounds of these divisions are fully discussed in my "Introduction," but time only permits me to refer to the remarkable distinctness which the survey displays in the natural separation between the hill country of Judah and the Philistine lowland, the last being familiar to students of the Hebrew Bible as the Shephelah. This separation has been brought to light by the survey, in a line of meridional valleys, which form a common base for two well contrasted

features on the east and west. On the east the base terminates a long slope that descends from the summits of the Judæan heights, which culminate in an elevation of 3,546 feet at Rameh, near Hebron. On the west is a steep escarpment springing from the same base and facing the slope. The summit of the scarp varies in altitude above the sea between 1,000 and 1,500 feet; but the elevation of the scarp above the base is not so striking as its continuity with the base line in a meridional direction, especially along the Wady en Najil in the Nahr Rubin Basin, and the Wady es Sur in the Sukereir Basin. From the edge of this escarpment on the east, the hills of the Philistine Shephelah slope away towards the maritime plains on the west, and present a variety of features which have been resolved into five groups in the "Introduction to the Survey."

The study of the general forms of the highlands of Samaria and Judæa, has been for the first time rendered practicable by the new survey. The noted Mount Carmel, always regarded hitherto as a single ridge, is found to consist of a double ridge with an intermediate valley or plateau.

All along the backbone of the country represented by the main waterparting, lateral valleys are found, dividing the summit between parallel ranges.

These will be exhibited prominently in the special edition of the Reduced Map, and a knowledge of them is of great importance in traversing the country. The same map will also display a series of terraces along the Jordan and Dead Sea slope, to which attention is also directed in the "Introduction," and to which also the attention of critical observers on the

ground is particularly invited. Such features will doubtless have a relation to the geology of this country, which appears to be of surpassing interest, although from the want of such a map as the present, scarcely any progress has been made yet in that direction. The geological researches in Palestine of M. Lartet and others are only preliminary.

A few words are due to the light which the survey has thrown upon the hydrography of Western Palestine. The country is divided between the watersheds of the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and the Jordan and Dead Sea on the east. The main waterparting, or line of the division of the waters, is accurately delineated on the large map on the scale of one inch to a mile which is now before you. Its frequent and bold meanderings are all connected with variations in the forms of the ground which are demonstrated in the "Introduction to the Survey." The two main watersheds are divided into river basins of two classes. The more important class includes the basins on both watersheds that are in contact with the main waterparting. The inferior class of basins are not sufficiently extensive to do so, although some of them are not insignificant. The smaller basins are distinguished by a pale tint on the map. The inland basins—with no outfall—of Meis, Merj el Ghuruk, and Merj Sia, are all found in contact with the main waterparting.

With the hydrography of Palestine is connected the extraordinary depression of a great part of the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The survey has for the first time enabled some approach to be made towards the delineation of a contour

line on the level of the Mediterranean, along the western side of the Jordan basin. The depression commences just below the outlet of the Huleh Lake, that lake being about 7 feet above the level, while the Jisr Benat Yakob is 43 feet below it. The Sea of Gennesaret is 682 feet below the Mediterranean, and the surface of the Dead Sea descends to 1,292 feet. These facts were known before the survey. Additional observations now enable the contour to be approximately traced along the hillsides and up the valleys as far south as Wady en Nar, the Brook Kidron of the Bible. It will surprise most people to learn how large an area of the Jordan basin lies below the level. It runs not far from Hattin, both on the north and south. It reaches the feet of Mount Tabor and Jebel Duhy; the latter, both on the north and south. It also includes the whole of the plain of Beisan. It is half way between the Jordan and Nablus, in the Wady Farah. Further south it skirts the cliffs, rising gradually from their bases to their summits. It ascends the Wady Kelt from the plain of Jericho as far as Ain el Kelt. And it is found about two miles up the Wady en Nar. It is to be hoped that in the prosecution of the survey on the east of the Jordan, this extremely interesting contour will be distinctly traced on both sides of the basin.

The execution of the survey opens up a wide field for personal research in all branches of science, contributing towards it the invaluable basis of an accurate topography.

THE COLOUR-SENSE IN THE EDDA.

BY ARTHUR LAWRENSON, ESQ., LERWICK,
SHETLAND ISLES.

[Read December 14, 1881.]

In the investigation of the interesting subject of the sense of colour in man, and especially with the view of ascertaining whether the recent doctrine[1] of the gradual development of that sense be well founded, it is first of all needful to complete as far as possible the store of material from which the question will ultimately be determined, by careful reference to early writings. Among the northern European peoples, the Icelandic Eddas are the most ancient and valuable of literary inheritances. If we wish to ascertain the conditions of human life in the archaic north, we have no earlier written record to refer to than the *Elder Eddas*, and from its statements, references, allusions, or from its omissions, we are left to draw the conclusions which may be warranted. It is not requisite at this time to enter into any detailed account of the compositions which bear the collective name of *Edda*, nor to make an exhaustive inquiry into the questions of their

[1] Magnus: "Die geschichtlicke Entwickelung des Farbensinnes," Leipzig, 1877.
Gladstone, "The Colour Sense," *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1877.

probable age. It will suffice for our present purpose to quote a brief statement by a competent authority, as to the age and authenticity of the Eddaic lays, and then at once to proceed to the special enquiry which is the design of the present paper. "The old poems," says Professor Max Müller, referring to the *Elder Edda*, "in their alliterative metre, were proof against later modifications. We probably possess what we do possess of them in its original form. As they were composed in Norway in the sixth century, they were carried to Iceland in the ninth, and written down in the eleventh century."[2]

Abbreviations used in the following references to the Edda, Lüning's ed. 1859.

Völ. = Völuspâ.
Grimn. = Grimnismâl.
Hŷm. = Hŷmiskviða.
Ham.—Hamarsheimt.
Vegt. = Vegtamskviða.
Rîgsm. = Rîgsmâl.
Hâv. = Hâvamâl.
H. Hi. = Helgakviða Hiörvarðssonar.
Sig. I, II, III. = Sigurðarkviða I, II, III.
Sigrðr. = Sigrdrîfumâl.
Helr. = Helreið Brynhildar.
Oddr. = Oddrûnargrâtr.
Atlm. = Atlamâl.
Hamð. = Hamðismâl.
Fiölsv. = Fiölsvinnsmâl.
Vafþ. = Vafþrûðnismâl.
Alv. = Alvîssmâl.
Oeg. = Oegisdrekka.
Harb. = Harbarðslióð.
Sk. = Skîrnismâl.
Hynal. = Hyndlulióð.
Vkv. = Völundarkviða:
H. H. I. II. = Helgakviða Hundingsbana.
Fafn. = Fafnismâl.
Br. = (Fragment of) Brynhildarkviða.
Gud. I, II, III. = The Three Gudrun Lays.
Akv. = Atlakviða.
Guðhv. = Guðrûnarhvöt.
Grott. = Grottasöngr.
Hrafng. = Odin's Raven Song.

In the Elder Edda we find mention of the following specific colours :—

(1) black ; (2) white ; (3) red ; (4) gray ; (5) blue ;

[2] "Chips from a German Workshop," Vol. ii, p. 196.

(6) green; (7) golden; and (8) (in one or two instances only, and these in poems of the later period) brown.

Besides these, epithets denoting—

(*a*) Colour generally,

(*b*) Bright, clear, fair, shining,

(*c*) Dark, gloomy, obscure,

are of frequent occurrence.

The following are the numbers of the passages where these epithets general and specific are used: colour generally 11; bright clear, &c., 61; dark, gloomy, &c., 20;—in all 92 passages of this class.

Black 11, white 26, red 44, grey 14, blue 6, brown 3, golden 25, but deducting the instances where the term evidently implies the *material* rather than the *colour* of gold, 13; green 9. In all, 126 instances of mention of specific colour. Some passages may have been accidentally overlooked in this investigation; but were it so, it is not likely that the relative proportions indicated by the figures given above would be at all affected.

(*a*) *Colour in General.*

The dwarf Litr (colour) is named in the Völuspâ (st. 12), and in the Younger Edda (c. 49) it is told how at the funeral rites of Balder, Thor kicked him into the blazing pile. The Sun-God, Light, having perished, the dwarf—the accessory of colour, vanishes with him. The rainbow (Bifröst—the vibrating—resting) is described in the Younger Edda as of "three colours" (c. 13) and in another passage (c. 15) the red is named;[3] but in the Hyndlulioð (st. 34)

[3] "The red that thou seëst in the rainbow is burning fire."

of the Elder Edda—of course, a much earlier work, Heimdal, the warder of the bridge, is described as the son of nine mothers, virgins. He is the White God, pure Light, the offspring of all the hues of the bow, here recognized as many, and described by the arbitrarily holy number nine. All rays combine to produce pure white. Heimdal is the "son" of many mothers. In another passage (Hyndl. 36), where the red of the rainbow is referred to as *Sonardreyra*, it has been proposed as an emendation of a text somewhat obscure to read *Sôlardreyra*; and if this reading be accepted, the red of the rainbow will be the "blood of the sun."

The comparatively few instances where colour in a general sense is named throughout the Lays of the Edda, have to be still more restricted by the leaving out of view some cases where, although the word *litr* is used, it is not in the strict sense of colour. Thus in the Hâvamâl (st. 92) *lostfagrir litir*, and again (st. 107) *vel keypts litar*, the word has the signification of form or beauty in general rather than of colours or complexion. Again in Sigurd Kviða I (sts. 37, 38) when Sigurd and Gunnar change bodies, it is *litum vixla*, where colour alone is not meant. Cases where colour is referred to by the word *litr* as indicating hue, complexion, &c., are:

Litu goða: Völ. 18. Litum skipti: Hraf. 8.
Litu er lŷsti: Atlm. 28. Hvîta lit: Sig. III. 31.
Hermðar litr: H. H. I. 47. Hringi litkud: Sig III. 66.

(*b*) *Bright, Clear, Fair, Shining.*

These are the most numerous of all colour-epithets[4] in the Edda. Thor is *Hlôrriði*—the ray or glow scatterer. Skinfaxi—the shining maned horse of the day (Vaft. 12). Glitnir—the glittering abode of Forseti (Grimn. 15). These occur as proper names. The day is described as sun-clear:

Sôlheiða daga, Atlkv. 16.

As light:

Daga liósa, H. H. II. 49.

As sun-bright:

Sôlbiört, H. H. II. 43.

As clear:

Heiði dagr, Sig. III. 53.

As shining:

Skîra dag, Vaft. 12.

Women are described as fair: dôttur allra fegrsta H. H. Prol.

Meyno fegrstu: H. H. I. 3 (in the superlative).

Mey fagra: Prol. to Skir. Fögr mœr; Vkv. 2, and in other passages—so, liósa mans: Hâv 91: liósar Kvanar Vkv. 5.

As shining-bosomed:

Faðmi liósum: Vkv. 2.

As shining eye-browed:

Brâhvîtu: Vkv. 37.

Brûnhvîtr: Hŷm 8.

Fair haired:

Biarthaddaðr man: Grip. 33.

[4] I use the word here in its general sense, including at present epithets of light as well as of colour proper.

Hvîtingr : Gud II, 42.
Bleikt var hâr : Rigsm. 31.

Fair-complexioned :
Fagrt âlitum, Grip. 27 and 28.

Fair-adorned :
Fagrbûnar, Atlm. 29.

As brides they are—
Brûðr biartlitud (bright-coloured H. Hi. 7).
Skîr bruðr : Grimn. 11.
Sôlbiarta bruðr, Fiolso. 42.

They are shining-handed :
Biörtum lôfa : Gudr. III. 9.

Shining-washed :
Îtr vegna : Oegisd. 17.

Their arms shine white :
Armar lŷstu : Skirn. 6.

The goddess Freyja is fair (fagra) Ham. 3. The god Frey is bright : (skîrum Frey : Grimn. 43). So also in Grimn. 39, the shining god (skîrleita goði).

The " worm " of the Sigurd mythus is glittering (frâni ormr, Fafn. 15, 26). The bright-eyed boy (swain) in the same lay is frâneygi sveinu (Fafn. 5). Sigurd's eyes are frânar siórir (Gudr. I. 14).

A phrase which Mr. William Morris has transferred to the English language in his " Sigurd the Volsung" may be noted here as coming in the present category : odökkum (Fafn. 42) the undark.

The following are the similar epithets of mead, drink—used in the Edda :

Skîra miaðar : Grimn. 25 (shining-mead).
Skîrar veigar : Vegt. 7, shining, drink.
Hreina lög : Alv. 35, pure drink (rein),

but it may be observed that hreina rödd, occurs in

H. Hi. 20 for clear or pure *voice*—having no reference to colour.

Heaven—the fair abode of Gimli, where, according to the Völuspâ, righteous men are to enjoy everlasting bliss, is described as fairer (brighter) than the sun :

Sôlu fegra : Völ. 62. Similar are, heiðа himinn, the clear sky (Harb. 19) the bright stars—heiðar stiörnur (Völ. 56), heiðrîkum himni (Hâv. 86) heiðа brði himins (Grimn. 39).

The epithets of this class applied to arms are few, and occur in the later lays. Two of them are in the Atlakviða, one of the latest of the Eddic songs.

Shîran mölm : Atl. 39, bleikum skiâldum : *ib.* 14. In the third Sigurd lay is mentioned : Kynnbirt earn (III. 22) bright iron, *i.e.*, the sword.

Water is called bright or shining—liósa vatni (H. H. II. 29). So are clothes : biartar vâðir (Sig. III. 47), bright "weeds," as in the Elder English. But biartr is probably only synonymous in such passages with "white," as it occurs in descriptions of stone : biartr stein : Gud I. 18, and again for swan-white—

Gaglbiartar : Atlkv. 39 (cf. the Elder English "gaggle.")

Epithets of single occurrence which yet remain to be noted are :

Hreinni miöll : Rigsm. 26, bright (fair) snow.

Eyglô : Alv. 17, the aye-glowing, *i.e.*, the sun.

Fagrglôa, Alv. 5, the fair-glowing : (bright-glowing.)

But as *hreina* was found to be used in the sense of pure, clear in speaking of a voice—so we find fagra

(fair) used in the Hâvamâl, in the ordinary English sense of "speaking fair": (Hâv. 44).

(c) *Dark, Gloomy, Obscure, Dim.*

It is worthy of note that epithets of this class should be comparatively so few in number in the Edda. Those denoting brightness, shiningness, and so on, are, as we have seen, more than threefold as numerous as phrases which we should have thought more likely to be met with in those sombre and sometimes obscure poems of the Dark North. Again, it may be observed that while we have a variety of epithets for describing bright or light objects, there is a singularly limited number in the opposite class. More than half of those we are now to refer to are cases where "mirk" and "mirkness" are spoken of. Thus:

I nâttmyrki (Prologue to Grimnismâl), night mirk.

Myrkr: Hâv. 81, the darkness. Myrkan veg; Rigsm. 34, the dark path.

Myrkt er ûti: Skirn. 10. Myrkvan *ib.* 8 and 9.

Niðmyrkr: Gud. II. 12, moonless darkness.

The dark wood (Myrkvið) the mysterious, solemn forest, is described or referred to in the Prol. to Völundarkviða. *Ib.* 3, and in the later Lay: Oddr. 25 (um myrkvun rið). The same epithet is applied to the snake hole;

Myrkheimr: Atlk. 42, the mirk home of the "worm,"

and to the witch riders: Myrkriða, Harb. 20.

The giant Hŷmir—the twilight dweller (Hŷmis-

kviðа) has his name from hûma, the twilight (Hrafn. 20). To this day, in the Shetland Isles, the twilight is vernacularly called "the hümin," and the gray dawn—"the dim." So in the Vôluspa (st. 64) we find—dimmi dreki—the dim, dark-coloured fire-drake (dragon).

The raven is called dark:

Dökkva hrafns: Sig. II. 20.

So are the hillocks—

Dökkvar hliðir, H. H. I. 46 (the dark leas);

and the Dark Elves (as distinguished from the Light Elves—liósâlfar) dökkâlfar: Hrafn. 35.

In the Hyndlulioð (1) rökkr is used for darkness.

A dark-coloured—not necessarily black—horse is named: blakka mær; Gudhv. 18,

and a bear: blakkfiallr (dark hided) Atlkv. 11. But both these epithets occur in comparatively recent days. In the Götterlieder proper, there are no such cases. On the whole, it is evident from these quotations that the present class of epithets is remarkably limited in number.

(1) *Black.*

In coming now to the specific epithets, it is equally peculiar that in rarity of occurrence, the mention of "black" seems to follow the same analogy as was found in reference to the general epithets of dark, obscure, &c. Few instances of it are to be found in either of the divisions of the Elder Edda: "white" occurs more than twice as frequently. Völuspâ (st. 51), surtr (schwarz, swarthy), the black god of the fire world, Muspellheim, is named; and in two

passages prophetic of the Ragnarök, the darkening of the sun :—

Sôl tekr sortna : Völ 56. Svar var þá sôlskin : Völ. 33.

All black oxen are twice named :

Uxi alsvartr : Hŷm 18. Oxu alsvartir, Ham. 23.

Black horses are mentioned, but only in three lays of later date : Oddr. 2, Gudhv. 2, and Hamd. 3.

In the ethnological Rigsmäl (st. 7), the thrall has a black skin : hörfi svartan. In the same lay we find armr Sôlbrunninn (sunburnt arms) as a mark of the peasant class (st. 10). And the last instance to be quoted is one which in its more ornate manner rather resembles the artificial phrases of the Skalds than the terse simplicity of the Edda.

Brimdŷr blásvört : H. H. I. 49. The blue-black sea beasts : *i.e.*, ships.

(2) *White.*

That this term is occasionally synonymous with fair or bright, appears from the passage in the Hŷmiskviða already referred to, where brûnhvîtr (literally white eyebrowed) may be better rendered as bright or shining eyebrowed. In the stricter sense of colour, Heimdal, the warder of Bifröst, is spoken of in the Raven song as sverðâss hvîta : the white sword-god (Hrafu. 14), and as hvîtastr âsa (Ham. 15). As suffix to proper names, it occurs in the Oegisdrekka : Sveinn inn hvîti (st. 20) and in the prologue to the Völundr Lay—Hlaðgur-svanhvît : Hlaðguðr the swan-white. It is

occasionally used as an appellation or description of women, so :

Hvîtarmri Konu (Hâv. 62). Miallhvîta man : Alv. 7 (the snow-white maid).

Their white necks are once or twice mentioned :

Hals hvîtari, Rigsm. 26. Hvîtan hals (Völundr. Prol).

Twice in the Harbard Lay they are described as linen-white : lînhvîta (st. 30, *ib.* 32). In the Rigsmâl in contradistinction to the thrall's swarthy skin, we find the fair complexion of the Jarl class described : bleikt var hâr, biartir vangâr : fair was the hair, cheeks blooming (st. 31). Moðir is described as covering the table with cloth, hvîtan af hörfi (Rigsm. 28). As a colour in contrast with red it is mentioned in Brynhild's Hel-ride : hvîtum ok rauðum (st. 9). In the Völuspâ mists or vapours are spoken of as white : hvîta auri (Völ. 19) ; and sun-white (sôlhvîtr) occurs as an epithet in Hâv. 96. In the later lays of the Edda it occurs as follows :

Hvîtum hrossum (white horse), Gudhv. 2, and again in Hamd. 3.

Skiöld hvîtan Hamd. 21 (white shield). Hadd hvîtan Gudhv. 16 (white veil).

Silfri snæhvîtn, Atlm. 66 (snow-white silver).

The white bear is mentioned in the Atlamâl (st. 18). A sacred white stone in the third Lay of Gudrun : hvîta helga steini (Gud. III, 3). The word occurs besides in two other passages—Sig. III, 53, and in the Rigsmâl (st. 36). On the whole it appears as if "white," as an epithet distinct in meaning from "fair" or "shining," had grown in definiteness in the Eddic period, and was used

with more precision in the later than in the earlier lays.

(3) *Red.*

This epithet of colour is by far the most common in the Edda. It is about twice as often used as any other; and this may be partly accounted for by its being habitually used as descriptive of gold and of blood. As in the more modern ballad period, gold is conventionally "red." The instances of its use in this sense through the Edda are too numerous to particularise, about one-half of all the passages where the words occur being those where gold, or rings, are so described. In one or two cases the phrase is a little varied:

Glôðrauðr gull (the glowing red gold) Fafn. 9; Gudr. II. 2; Atlm. 13; but the customary terms are hringa rauða (Ham. 29. *et al.*). Gull rautt (Völkv. 5 *et al.*), bauga rauða (red ring, H. H. II. 34 *et al*).

Somewhat less numerous are the instances of the epithet as applied to blood. Red blood: "rauðum dreyra" occurs in the mystic prophesyings of the Völuspâ (st. 33). The sword is reddened in Fafnir (Fafn. 28) in blood (Gudr. II. 38). The sword-edge is reddened (Br. 11. Sig. I. 50). The ground: "sâ er fold ryði:" Sig. II. 26. The meadows: Rigsm. 34. Battle-red is an epithet in the Atlakviða; valrauðr (st. 4); and in H. H. II. 17, we find the phrase, somewhat Skaldic:

> Verpr vîgroða um vîkinga—battle red shone round the vikings.

Shields are spoken of as red:

> Skiöldum rauðum: Helr. Bryn. 9; randir rauðar (Gud. II. 15.)

Mantles or cloaks :

Loðа rauða (Gud II. 19).

Helms are gold-red : hiálma gullroðna (Atlk. 4.)

In the sense of reddened, ruddy, or bloody, the following may be instanced :

Roðnir brautir (H. H. II. 46.) ways reddened (with the dawn).

Rióðr (Rigsm. 18), ruddy-faced.

Blôðgum tîvor (Völ. 36, 2), the bloody sacrifice.

And in the account of the grief of Gudrun as "she sorrowing sat over Sigurd :"

Hlŷr roðnaði (Gud. I. 15.) her cheeks flushed.

In the Hyndl. (12) it occurs as a cognomen : Svan enum rauða : "Svan the Red."

The most striking instance of the mention of red is however, in a passage of the Völuspâ, where two hues of the colour are referred to :

Fagrrauðr hani (Völ. 34) the fair (light) red cock, Fialarr.

Sôtrauðr hani (*ib.* 35), the dark-red cock (soot-red).

This, I think, is the only passage throughout the Elder Edda where shades of a colour seem to be recognized.

(4) *Gray.*

The few cases in which gray is named, occur altogether in the second part—The Hero-Lays. In the earlier divisions of the Edda—The Lays of the Gods—it is not found unless in the following form, where it has evidently the sense of age (hoariness), rather than of colour :

Inn hâra þul (the gray or hoary talker), Fafn. 34.

In this form we find it in the Hâvamâl (st. 135) Hŷmiskvŏa (st. 16) Rigsmâl (st. 2).

As a colour epithet proper, it is applied to horses:

Grâr iór, Brynh. 6 (hrossum) grâm, Gudr. 2; Hamð. 3.

To silver: grâ silfri (Gud. II, 2). To the hounds of Odin: grey Viðrirs (the hounds of Vidrir). H. H. I. 13.

In Hamd. 30, the Norns are gray: in Grott. 10, the fells. The word occurs also in another passage of H. H. I (st. 12) grâra geira: grey spears—"the storm of gray spears:" *i.e.*, battle. As a descriptive phrase we have:

Grâserkjat lið (Grott. 13) the gray-sarked (corsleted).

Ûlfgrâr (H. H. 2, 1), wolf-gray.

But it is noteworthy that few as are the instances we can find of the mention of gray, one half of those few occur in the comparatively late Grottasong and Hamðismal. In the undoubtedly ancient portion of the Edda it is not found at all.

(5) *Blue.*

The instances of mention of this colour may be reckoned on one hand. Once in the Völuspä: blâm leggjum (st. 9).

In the Prologue to Grimn: î feldi blâm: "he wore a blue mantle," originally a "fell" or sheep-skin thrown over the shoulders and held by a clasp. So the English fell-monger. In the Rigsmâl (st. 26) blâfâr (blue coloured) (Sigdr. 10) waves are spoken of as blue: blâr unnir.

Blue and white stripes are referred to in two late lays: blâhvîtu (bœkr) Gudhv. 4. *Ib.* Hamd. 6.

(6) *Brown.*

This occurs seldomer still. In the second lay of Gudrun: Skarar iarpar, (brown-haired) (st. 19). Twice in Hamd. Skör iarpa, brown locks (st. 21) and iarpskamr (*Ib.* 13): reddish-brown colour as of a fox.

(7) *Golden.*

Almost all the instances of the epithet refer to the metal rather than to mere colour. In many passages it means gilded or overlaid with gold. Where it may be read in the stricter sense of golden-yellow hue, are such passages as:

Gullbiartr	(Grimn. 8)	gold-bright.
ib.	(Harb. 30)	*ib.*
Algullin	(Hŷm. 8)	all-golden.
ib.	(Skirn. 19)	*ib.*
Lŷsigull	(Prologue to Oegisdr. I.)	

and in the description of the yellow-crested cock in the Völuspâ:

Gullin Kambi (st. 35); and in the name of the horse of the gods: Gulltopp (Grimn. 30).

As referring to the metal alone, or having the meaning of gilded, gold-horned cows are mentioned:

Gullhyrndar Kŷr, Ham. 23, *ibid.* H. Hi. 4.

Gilded hoofs: Hôf gullin, Oddr. 28.

Gold bridled: Gullbitluð, H. H. I. 41.

Gilded: Gyltr Atlk v. 5; *Ib.* 33; Gudr. II. 16.

Golden: Gullin, Völ. 59; Hâv. 106; H. H. II. 17; Fiölsv. 5.

Gold-adorned: Gullvariðr, H. H. II. 43; and

(probably) another passage in H. Hi. 26 : margullin.

The golden tablets : gullnar töflar (Völ. 59) wherewith the gods amuse themselves, and with which, after Ragnarök, they are once more to play in the New Heaven, have to be mentioned. So also gullinbusti (Hyndl. 7), the gold-bristled boar of Frey whose bristles shine amid the darkness of night. (Prose Edda, cap. 61).

(8) *Green.*

It is peculiar that although this colour is so seldom named in the Edda, it is with one or two exceptions in the older lays alone that it occurs : in this respect differing from other colours we have already treated of, which were found to be used more frequently and with greater precision of application in the later poems. In the Vôluspâ we find :

Grœnum lauki (Str. 4) green herbs (" leeks ").

Yfir grœnn (*ib.* 19) ever-green the ash Yggdrasil).

Iðja grœna (ib. 57) fresh-green.

The phrase used in Str. 4 of the Völuspâ occurs again in the Second Lay of Gudrun, where in Gudrun's lament over Sigurd, she compares him to the tall tree among lowly shrubs : grœnn laukr (Gudr. II. 2).

The earth is îgrœn ; (Alv. 11). All-green in Harb. 16—Algrœn heitir. The green field-paths are mentioned twice :

Grœnir brautir, Rigsm. 1. *Ibid.*, Fafn. 41.

All-green valleys occur in Atlkv. 13 : algrœna vôllu.

I propose now to compare the results of the foregoing analysis with those of the examination which Mr. Gladstone has made of portions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in his article on "The Colour Sense."[5] It will be seen that in the *Edda*, there is a more exact as well as a more fully developed sense of colour than is found in Homer. For his purpose Mr. Gladstone selected the last ten Books of the *Odyssey*, and the last eight of the *Iliad*. In the former, he says: "I count 133 epithets or phrases which relate either to colour or to light and its opposite, or its modifications"—and he then proceeds to deduct from that total number: (1.) Epithets and phrases of brightness and darkness. (2.) Those of whiteness and blackness, "as neither properly designates colour;" and—(3.) "Words which indicate the shade of grey, half-way, so to speak, between white and black, but without decomposition or refraction, and therefore not properly a colour." Thus we have:

Epithets of light and dark	55	times.
„ white and black	36	„
„ gray	12	„
	103	„

"Thus," continues Mr. Gladstone, "there remain some 31 cases in nearly 5,000 lines where Homer can be said to introduce the element of colour; or about once in 160 lines." It may seem a little daring to challenge Mr. Gladstone's arithmetic, but a slight error has crept in here. For in his list of particular phrases given previously, he enumerates—

[5] "Nineteenth Century," No. 8, October, 1877.

Epithets of brightness	49	times.
„ darkness	4	„
	53	„

while in the subsequent abstract he makes it 55; and again, while making his total deductions = 103, he makes a remainder of 31 instead of (by his own showing) 30. In point of fact, if his calculations are otherwise correct, there remain 32 cases of the mention of strict colour in the ten Books of the *Odyssey* he has examined.

Again, in the last eight books of the *Iliad*, he finds 208 light and colour phrases, and subjecting them to similar deductions, he brings out the following results:

Epithets of light and dark	86	times.
„ white and black	52	„
„ grey	10	„
	148	„

leaving epithets of colour proper, 60. But from that number he subsequently shows that 2 at least may be properly deducted, making a remainder of 58.

Subjecting the *Edda* to a similar analysis, I count 218 epithets or phrases relating to light or to colour in all its modifications. Then deducting:

Epithets of light and dark	92	times.
„ white and black	37	„
„ grey	14	„
	143	„

there remain 75 instances of the mention of colour proper as distinguished alike from epithets of brightness and darkness, of whiteness and blackness, and of shades of gray.

Brought to a strict arithmetical test, epithets of colour proper are to the whole number of instances of phrases or epithets denoting light and its opposite or colour indefinitely in the following proportions :

Last ten books of the *Odyssey*	24	per cent.
„ eight „ *Iliad*	28	„
The *Elder Edda*	34	„

In other words, while one-fourth of Homer's words are colour-epithets, one-third of those of the Edda go into that class—as distinguished from the remaining three-fourths and two-thirds respectively, which are light-epithets.

Dr. Hugo Magnus has placed the Homeric poems in the second stage of the historical development of the colour-sense.[6] At this stage, red and yellow are discerned, but not green or blue. Mr. Gladstone says : " Of a blue brightness Homer nowhere shows the smallest idea. The negative proof becomes overwhelming, when we consider that, living under a Mediterranean sky, he never calls that sky by the name blue.[7] If the recognition of green be a proof of the attainment by an individual or a race of the third stage of this historical development, it is worthy of note that, as has already been referred to, we have found this colour repeatedly named in the more ancient songs of the Edda, and in particular in the Völuspâ—probably the oldest of all. Further, according to Dr. Magnus, it is in the fourth and final stage of the development that an acquaintance with blue emerges. " Red begins, blue and violet

[6] " Die Entwickelung des Farbensinnes " (Jena, 1877).
[7] Art. Colour Sense, in " Nineteenth Century."

close the scale." [8]Few as are the instances in the *Edda* of reference to this colour, it is yet found, and that in the elder lays. In the Völuspâ it occurs. It follows that the Northmen at the remote epoch of the composition of the *Elder Edda*, had arrived at a point in the development of the colour-sense two stages beyond Homer.

When Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the colouring of the rainbow, says: "But the Aristotelian triad of colours is reproduced by Suidas and Galen; is found in the Edda and in Varâhamihira," &c., he doubtless refers to the passage in the *Younger Edda*[9] where Bifröst is described as of "three colours;"[10] but it must be remembered that the *Younger Edda* is the work of an Icelander of the 13th century, and that his description of the rainbow as of "three colours" must be taken as a merely fanciful and intentionally archaic use of a phrase suited, as he thought, to his mythological subject. It need not be supposed that the compiler of the *Heimskringla* in the 13th century had not attained the stage of colour development common in his race at least 600 years previously. Moreover, we must place alongside this phrase of Snorri Sturlason, the account of Bifröst given in the Hyndlulioð, with which doubtless Snorri was conversant, and in which the variety of colouring in the rainbow is symbolically set forth. As it chances, the age of this particular lay can be shown with almost mathematical preciseness to be at least

[8] There is no mention in the New Testament of blue. In the Apocrypha it occurs once—"A servant that is continually beaten shall not be without a blue mark"—*Ecclesiasticus* xxiii, 10.

[9] Gladstone, *ut supra*, p. 371.

[10] Prose Edda, Cap. 13, cited *ut sup.*

anterior to A.D. 740. This is found by internal evidence, and is a point well known to old Northern readers, but does not here require particular demonstration.

Of true, genuine colour-epithets in Homer, Mr. Gladstone takes the word *ἐρυθρός* to be the best approach; but he says that Homer's "idea of red does not seem to be wholly distinct:" "no garment in Homer is *eruthros* or red." In the *Edda*, mantles or cloaks are called red (Gud. II. 19); and we have seen that in the Völuspâ two shades of this colour are distinctly referred to (Völ. 34 et 35). "*Eruthros* is applied to—(1) Copper; (2) Nectar; (3) Wine; (4) Blood.[11] The favourite use of the word in Homer, Mr. Gladstone says, is "for wine." It is curious that the most common use of red in the *Edda* as description of gold, has no parallel in Homer, while blood alone is spoken of as red alike in Homer and the *Edda*. But it would seem that Homer's favourite epithets of colour for blood are all epithets of blackness, occurring in 29 places.[12] To this there is no parallel in the *Edda*. There the idea of redness had undoubtedly acquired its present distinctness.

Again, as "an instance of the dominance of the light-sense, of the rudeness and feebleness of the colour-sense in Homer," Mr. Gladstone takes his staple epithet for the morning, *rhododactulos*; by which he thinks "a very pale reddish-pink, far removed from ruddiness, seems to be indicated,"[13] and

[11] "The Colour Sense," *ut supra*, p. 375.
[12] *Ib.*, p. 376.
[13] *Ib.*, p. 376.

he considers that the whiteness rather than the redness of this combination had "contributed most to fashion the poet's perception."[13] Contrasted with this, the description in the *Edda* (H. H. II. 47) of the "paths reddened with the dawn," show a distinct advance in the perception of the redness of the dawn.

We have seen that green is not recognised in Homer. In the *Edda*, on the contrary, there is a certain modern-like feeling for nature shown in such phrases as the green foot-paths, the all-green valleys, green leeks or herbs, the fresh-green, the evergreen tree of Yggdrasil. Mr. Gladstone considers *chloros* as used by Homer, in so far as it has a visual meaning, to be "a light-epithet rather than a colour-epithet," and that no common sense of colour regulates its use. He takes as a suitable English equivalent for the phrase, "pale."[14]

There is a similarity in the use of words denoting that mixture of white and black which is not a colour proper, but as Mr. Gladstone says, a "quantitative composition"—as we find them in Homer and the *Edda*. *Polios* he would render "gray,"[15] and finds it applied "(1) to the human hair in old age." Similarly in Fafnismâl and in three other places we find the Old Northern equivalent. "(2) To iron." So we have the iron corselet in Grott. 13 called grey sark.

[14] χλωρός used in this sense occurs in the New Testament, ἵππος χλωρός (Rev. vi, 8). Cf. also the passage in Sappho's Ode to the Beloved Woman.

χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
ἐμμί.

"Than the grass I paler am."

[15] Gladstone, *ut supra*, p. 381.

"(3) To the hide of a wolf." Wolf-gray is an Eddic phrase (H. H. II. 1).

In the New Testament colour is seldom recognised. Green occurs only thrice: Mark vi, 39; Rev. viii, 7; ix, 4; and in each case is applied to a growing thing (grass). Red thrice: evening heaven, Matt. xvi, 2; horse, Rev. vi, 4; dragon, xii, 3. An indefinite colour spoken of as *purple* ten times, and as *scarlet* six times, is referred to; but as we find by the accounts in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, of the trial of Christ, it is an ambiguous term. Matthew (xxvii, xxviii) calls the robe *χλαμύδα κοκκίνην* —rendered in the authorised and revised version scarlet, Mark xv, xvii. Mark and John call it *purple* *πορφύραν* (Mark xv, 17) *ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν* (John xix, 2) meaning the same thing. In the Gothic version, the passage of Matthew has been lost, but in Mark and John it coincides with the Greek phrase, so: "Jah gavasidedun ina paurpurai" (Mark xv, 17), "paurpurodon vastja" (John xix, 5). Yellow is not mentioned in the New Testament, nor blue, nor brown, although the latter occurs in the A. V. of Genesis (xxx, 32, 33, 35, 40) applied to cattle or sheep; and yellow occurs thrice in Leviticus (xiii, 20, 32, 36), applied to hair, and in Ps. lxviii, 13: "yellow gold." Of light and dark epithets in the New Testament, "white" is applied to raiment 7 times, hair 2, fields 1, stone 1, horse 1, throne 1; "to white" (as a fuller) 1, a whited wall 1, sepulchre 1. "Black" occurs thrice, and in each case is applied to hair (Matt. v, 36, Rev. vi, 5, 12); "blackness" to darkness, twice (Heb. xii, 18; Jude xiii. "Gray" is only used in the sense of hoary

and applied to hair, Gen. xlii, 38 ; xliv, 31 ; Deut. xxxii, 25 (and 5 other places). I do not take in the mention of the "Red Sea," as a reference to colour, there being no satisfactory reason for the name: *Ἐρυθρά θάλασσα*. As Curtius says: "mare certe quo alluitur ne colore quidem abhorret a cœteris. Ab Erythrâ rege inditum est nomen: propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt" (Lib. VIII. c. 29).

In the Apocrypha, colour-epithets occur rarely. As in the New Testament, "green" is found thrice only, and applied to—(1) corn; (2) leaves; (3) field. Wisd. xix, 7 ; Eccl. xiv, 18 ; *Ib.* xl, 22 ; "blue" once: Eccl. xxiii ; "red," but once, and that in naming the Red Sea ; "scarlet" once ; Eccl. xlv, 11. But the ambiguous epithet "purple" occurs nine times: evidently vaguely used.

In thus bringing into juxta-position the peculiarities of the representation of the colour-sense in Homer and in the *Elder Edda*, it must, I think, be admitted that in the latter a much more comprehensive as well as definite perception of colour is found. While the Greek, in his favoured Mediterranean land, had attained to that matchless sense of beauty in form and motion, the realisation of which still enchants the world—for the Northman there seems to have been reserved, as compensation, this clearer perception of hue and shade. In the purer æther and serener air of the south, in those calm regions dwelt the fair forms which the Greek made permanent in marble. But to him the landscape must have been what our later artists would term a "Symphony in Black and White:" an engraving or a photograph,

not a vivid-hued picture. For him the grass was not emerald, nor the heavens sapphire: there was no glow of crimson, rose and purple in the western sky; the innumerable dyes of southern flowers existed not for him. Nature appeared to him clad in garments lighter or darker, gleaming or lowering in black and white and that compound of both which we term gray. But to the Northman was presented the gift of colour. With larger, other eyes than his cousin Aryan of the south, he beheld the swift rushing, myriad hued streamers of the North, the lightly-trembling yet firmly resting Bridge of the Gods, and he was enabled to see that its Warder, the White God, was "the offspring of nine mothers." He sees, too, that colour is an accessory merely of light—that he is the dwarf *Litr*, in fact—and goes after the Sun-God and perishes with him in—

> "That last great battle in the West
> Where all of high and holy dies away."

There is no doubt that these two symbolic representations are so remarkable, that of themselves they afford sufficient evidence for the present contention of the immense advances which the Northman of so early an European period had made in the power of discrimination of colour, and in his ideas generally of it. But nature was a picture to him and not an engraving. The ways in the green valleys shone reddened in the dawn; the grey corsleted cloud Valkyrior hurried along on the storm's wings beneath a blue sky, while Thor blows through his red beard and shakes the dark mountains in his driving. His symbol of the Cosmos was the ever-green world-

tree, the mighty ash Yggdrasil—grandest and most comprehensive of world conceptions. It stands there "all-green," frondescent, umbrageous, with its roots deep in the hidden unfathomable gulfs of nature, stretching downwards into the realms of Hel and the dim past, down to the well-springs where the gray Norns sit and evermore be-sprinkle the giant-roots with revivifying water. Its branches overshadow the earth, spreading outwards over all the present times, and stretching ever upwards into the boundless blue heights of the future; the infinite rush of life streams through the mighty tree from furthest root-tip to uppermost leaf-point, and energises all. "Its boughs with their buddings and disleafings, events, things suffered, things done, catastrophes,—stretch through all lands and times. Is not every leaf of it a biography, every fibre there an act or word? Its boughs are histories of nations. The rustle of it is the noise of human existence, onwards from of old. It grows there, the breath of human passion rustling through it; or storm-tost, the storm-wind howling through it like the voice of all the gods. It is Yggdrasil, the tree of existence."[16]

As it is said in the Völuspâ.

An ash know I standing	Hight yggdrasil,
A high tree watered	With white vapours:
Thence come the dews	In dales falling,
Ever-green it stands	Over Urd's fountain.

[16] Carlyle's "Hero-Worship," Sect. I, p. 200.

REPORT

OF THE

Royal Society of Literature.

1881.

Royal Society of Literature.

General

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

April 27th, 1881.

The Chair was taken at half-past four P.M. by Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, Q.C., LL.D., and Vice-President, owing to the unavoidable absence of the President, His Royal Highness The Prince Leopold, K.G.

The Minutes of the General Anniversary Meeting of 1881 having been read and signed, the following Annual Report of the Society's Proceedings, as prepared under the direction of the Council, was read.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

April 27th, 1881.

The Council of the Royal Society of Literature [Members.] have the honour to report to the Members of the Society that, since their last Anniversary Meeting, held in the Society's House, on Wednesday, April 28th, 1880, there has been the following change in, and addition to, the Members of the Society.

Thus, they have to announce with regret the death of

The Rev. Harry Smith, M.A.,

probably the only surviving to the present year, of the original Members of the Society; and of

B. T. Morgan, Esq.,

and, by resignation, of

Charles Ford, Esq.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in announcing that the following gentlemen have been elected *Members*:—

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF LIMERICK.
J. BOLLINGER, M.A., Ph.D.
CHARLES PFOUNDES, Esq.
ALEXANDER MACDONALD, Esq.
BURNHAM W. HORNER, Esq.
MARK H. JUDGE, Esq.
H. M. IMBERT-TERRY, Esq.
THOMAS H. GILL, Esq.
ROBERT W. DILLON, Esq.
REV. W. E. BULL GUNN, M.A.
FREDERIC KENT, Esq.
RAMCHANDRA GHOSE, Esq.
HENRY ALLPASS, Esq.
ROBERT WHELAN BOYLE, Esq.
CAPT. W. MASON SEYMOUR, R.N.
SIR HARDINGE STANLEY GIFFARD, Q.C.
DR. ALTSCHUL, M.A.
ALFRED RICHARDS, Esq.
JOHN H. PAUL, Esq., M.D.
CAPT. G. A. RAIKES, F.S.A.

Rev. W. Jones.

Charles Higgins, Esq.

In all, twenty-two; the clear gain to the Society being nineteen.

They have also much pleasure in laying [Funds.] before the Society the following abstracts of the state of the funds of the Society, which has been duly examined and attested by their auditor, Mr. H. W. Willoughby, and which will, they believe, show that the Society is in a prosperous condition.

1880–81	RECEIPTS.						DISBURSEMENTS.						1880–81
				£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	
Balance at Bankers	..	..		496	18	7	Rent, less Property Tax		391	13	4		
Her Majesty the Queen, Donation	..	..		100	0	0	Parish Rates		58	9	0		
Subscriptions	..	..		265	16	7	Taxes		36	13	4	499	5 8
Rents :—	£	s.	d.				Water Rate		10	10	0		
Anthropological Institute ..	130	0	0				Insurance		2	0	0		
Friends of the Clergy Corporation	105	0	0	261	6	0	Salaries, Secretary		100	0	0		
Numismatic Society	20	0	0				Clerk		78	0	0	194	7 0
London and Middlesex Archæological Society	6	6	0				Hall Porter		15	12	0		
Sale of Transactions	4	17	2				Licence for do.		0	15	0		
„ Inquisitio Eliensis ..	1	11	6	6	18	11	Transactions (Printing), Messrs. Harrison, Vol. XII, Part 2 ..		59	18	6		
„ Li Chantari Di Lancellotto	0	5	8				Reports, &c.		4	17	0	73	8 6
Dividends :—							Illustrations (Griggs) ..		8	8	0		
On Canada 4 per cent. Stock ..	82	13	1					Soc.	1	1	0		
„ £169 10s. Consols. 3 per cents.	4	18	11					..	2	2	0		
„ $9,500 United States 5 per cents.	48	9	10	257	6	1		..	0	15	6	5	10 0
„ £2,023 10s. Midland Railway Stock	98	15	1					Redhouse)	1	11	6		
„ £584 12s. New 3 per cents.	15	12	8				Bills :—						
„ £175 India 4 per cents. ..	6	16	6				Williams and Norgate		3	3	0		
Stock sold out :—							Stationery		9	3	4		
$9,500 United States 5 per cents.	..	..		1,078	7	6	Cards		1	19	6	17	1 7
							.. .. ..		0	16	9		
							Tinkler and Hillhouse		1	1	0		
							Taylor and Co.		0	18	0		

					Postage Stamps	11	11	8	
					Advertisements	5	19	10	17 11 1
					Stock invested £1,500, Queensland, 4 per cent.				1,462 10 0
					" 500 " " ..				487 10 0
					Tradesmen's Bills	22	0	9	
					Coals	10	18	0	41 8 1
					Gas	8	9	4	
					Household Book	15	0	6	
					Charwomen	0	19	10	40 10 6
					Refreshments	6	0	0	
					Petty cash in hand				5 0 0
					Balance at Bankers				512 11 3
£3,356	8	8							£3,356 8 8

Examined and found correct by WILLIAM H. WILLOUGHBY, *Auditor*.

[Donations.] The Council have further to report the following Donations to the Library from—

THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION.

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ST. PETERSBURG.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF PALERMO.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE, TURIN.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF LOMBARDY.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF LISBON.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF BRUSSELS.

THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

THE FREE LIBRARIES COMMITTEE, BIRMINGHAM.

THE PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES, MANCHESTER.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND.

THE AGENT-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND.

THE BOARD OF REGENTS, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, NEW YORK.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY, NEW YORK.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE SCIENTIFIC REVIEW.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE

THE PROPRIETORS OF NATURE.

C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

J. B. TELFY, ESQ.

O. SHIPLEY, ESQ.

J. K. CRAIG, ESQ.

RAMCHANDRA GHOSE, ESQ.

W. FRESHFIELD, ESQ.

J. HENRY, Esq.

JAMES HECTOR, ESQ., F.R.S.

A. POSTOLACCA.

A. RAMSEY, ESQ.

H. PHILLIPS, ESQ.

[Papers.] The following papers have been read at the Evening Meetings of the Society during the last year.

I. *On the diversity of National Thought as reflected by Language.* By Prof. Abel. Read May 26, 1880.

II. *On the Ethnology of Modern Midian, including Notices of the Tribes, and manners and customs of the Midianite Bedawin.* By Captain R. F. Burton. Read June 23, 1880.

III. *On the Pelasgi and Albanians.* By Sir P. de Colquhoun, Q.C., V.P. Read July 7, 1880.

IV. *The Living Key to English Spelling Reform now found in History and Etymology.* By F. G. Fleay, Esq. Read November 24, 1880.

V. *On the Roll of the Twelfth Century in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum,*

known as the Guthlac Roll. By WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq. Read December 22, 1880.

VI. *On the Fathers of the English Church Music.* By W. A. BARRETT, Esq. Read February 23, 1881.

VII. *On the Genuine and the Spurious in the Eddaic Mythology.* By C. F. KEARY, Esq. Read March 23, 1881.

VIII. *On Spain, its Cities and Customs.* By ROBERT N. CUST, Esq. Read April 20, 1881.

In concluding this Report, it seems advisable to call the attention of the General Meeting of this Society to one question, which has been greatly mooted in the Literary world, though it has not, as yet, come formally before the notice of this Society, viz., Copyright—the conditions of which, in various Continental Countries, as well as in the United States of America, have been recently the subject of grave discussion.

Since the last anniversary of our Society much has been done both abroad and at home, which, it is hoped, may have the result of amending the present state of the Law, both National and International. As regards Foreign Countries, the question has been, indeed, still is, under discussion in France, Swizterland, Italy, Belgium and Holland.

Art Copyright, also, has formed the subject of a National Congress, which met at Turin, while it was also one of the subjects of the International Congress which assembled at Brussels in September of last year. This "Congress of Commerce and Industry," which was held under the personal auspices of the King of the Belgians, was attended by one of the Members of our Council, Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael, who will, we understand, at a future meeting, furnish to the Society a Report of the discussions which then took place. At the Berne Conference of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, the

question of International Copyright was introduced by a Report from a Committee, presided over by Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., and the progress of the question in the United States was dwelt upon. Since then the Draft Convention, known as the Harpur Treaty, has been formally brought before the English Government, by the American Minister at the Court of St. James, and is, at the present moment, under consideration.

A meeting of British Authors and Publishers, convened by the English Executive Committee of the International Literary Association, was held in the House of the Royal Asiatic Society on February 12, 1881, Mr. MacCullagh Torrens, M.P., in the chair, at which the Secretary ot this Society and Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael attended, and the latter gentleman, also, was one of a Deputation to the President of the Board of Trade, to convey to him the resolutions of the Meeting. The criticisms offered by the Meeting and by the subsequent Deputation, will no doubt receive due attention, and will have

their value, whatever may be the immediate result of the present negotiations. Add to which, our own Parliament will very shortly be called upon to consider a measure for the consolidation and amendment of the Municipal Law of Copyright, which will be introduced, with the support of the Council of the Social Science Association, by Mr. G. W. Hastings, M.P. It is much to be desired, that the state of Public affairs may admit of an early and thorough Parliamentary discussion of a question so interesting and important to all lovers of Literature.

ADDRESS

OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE LEOPOLD, K.G. K.T.,

DUKE OF ALBANY,

PRESIDENT,

TO THE SOCIETY,

Wednesday, April 27th, 1881.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In obedience to the usual custom of this Society, I have now the pleasure of addressing to you a few words on this our Anniversary Meeting.

And, in doing so, I have great satisfaction in congratulating the Society on its continued prosperity as evinced by the number of new names which have been added to it during the last session, to fill the place of

such losses as we have sustained by death or other causes. Our loss by death has been two, and by resignation one; on the other hand, we have elected twenty-two new members, the largest number, I believe, that has been elected in any one year, since the foundation of the Society. The Society has, therefore, nineteen more paying members than on this day last year. Of the biography of the one member we have lost by death, I will now, according to the usual custom, say a few words.

The Rev. Harry Smith, one of the original members of the Royal Society of Literature, died at his residence, 27, Norfolk Crescent, Paddington, on the 17th of February, 1881. He had nearly completed his ninetieth year. Mr. Smith was the son of Mr. Harry Smith, a partner in the Bank of Messrs. Child and Co. He was brought up at the well known school of Dr. Burney, at Greenwich, and, subsequently, at Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where he was the intimate friend of the late Dean Milman and Dr. Cardwell. At Brazen-nose, he obtained a Hulme Exhibition, and graduated in 1812, with a 2nd Class in Literis Humanioribus. He took his M.A. degree in 1816, and was ordained Deacon and Priest in 1817.

After serving several curacies, among others that of Dr. D'Oyley, the Rector of Sundridge, Mr. Smith accepted, in 1828, the offer of the living of Crandall, near Canterbury, from Sir John Filmer, where he resided for forty years. He retired from this Parish in 1868, much to the regret of his Parishioners, who gave him a substantial proof of the affection he had won. The infirmity of age having begun to tell upon him, together with a partial loss of sight, he spent the remainder of his life in retirement in London. His wife, to whom he was married in 1828, died in 1868.

During the past year several valuable Papers have been read before this Society. To these, according to the usual custom, I shall now briefly allude.

To our Vice-President, Sir P. de Colquhoun, we are indebted for a Paper "On the Pelasgi and Albanians," in which he maintained the view, that the latter people, who call themselves "Skipetar," are lineal descendants of the semi-mythical Pelasgi, who, he considered, derived this name from the Greeks around them, the general sense of this word being that of "Neighbours." The actual derivation of the name from any "King

Pelasgus" he properly held to be an absurdity, the government of the country in its earliest days, as now, being vested in certain tribal chieftains elected when necessary. Abundant examples may be found of the prevalence of this, or of a similar system, the cases of Agamemnon and Cassivelaunus being exactly to the point.

Sir Patrick thought the evidence of Antiquity was clearly in favour of a common origin (though at a very remote date) of both Pelasgi and Greeks, the main distinction between them being, that the Pelasgi admitted no affiliation *from without*, while the Greeks on the other hand accepted a large and very miscellaneous incorporation. Most of the Greek Deities, it is admitted, are of Pelasgian origin; the people, however, remaining simple warriors, while the Greeks, after a high and remarkable cultivation of Art, became effeminate and were thus easily exterminated. The Pelasgi were naturally pushed back into their mountains by the spread of the Hellenic race, but, in these mountains, they have remained through all time and to the present day. The main strength of Alexander's phalanx, the writer believed, was due to the large number of Pelasgi or "Skipetar" who served in it.

Mr. Walter de Gray Birch read a Paper "On the

Roll of the Twelfth Century," in the Harley collection at the British Museum, known as the "St. Guthlac Roll," and exhibited some Autotype Photographs of the subjects therein contained. In the course of his Paper Mr. Birch showed how the life of St. Guthlac, by Felix, in the Ninth Century, had been taken as the chief materials for the vignettes in the Roll, with the exception of the concluding picture, which points to Ingulph of Crowland as the authority for its details: Mr. Birch, also, demonstrated the great probability of the Roll having supplied subjects for the painted glass of Crowland Abbey Church.

Mr. W. A. Barrett has contributed a Paper "On the Fathers of English Music," in which he showed that what we know of Gregory of Bridlington, Adam of Dore Abbey, Herefordshire, Walter Odington of Evesham, John of Salisbury, and Thomas de Walsingham, affords ample evidence of the existence of English Musicians in comparatively early times. The systems of notation employed in the Mediæval times, with obscure and vague definitions, rendering translation into modern notation unsatisfactory, if not misleading, were touched upon; and the peculiarities of "Organon, diaphony and descant" were noticed, briefly, as an introduction to the

more definite matters of musical history. Mr. Barrett considered that the history of Church Music in England began in the latter part of the fifteenth century, with John of Dunstable's invention or employment of Counterpoint, contributions to this art having been, doubtless, supplied by Dr. Robert Fairfax, John Shepherd, and John Taverner, contemporary musicians. The claims of John Radford of St. Paul's, and of John Marbeck of Windsor, were duly acknowledged, as were, also, the labours of Thomas Tallis and of William Birde, who, by the aid of the "Printed Patents" granted to them, were able to extend the musical developments due to their genius.

Mr. F. G. Fleay read a paper entitled "The living Key to English Spelling Reform now found in History and Etymology," his object being to show that the objections to spelling Reform are principally founded on an exaggerated estimate of the amount of change required. This exaggeration has been chiefly caused, he thought, by the Revolutionary proposals of the leading reformers, who have neglected the history of our language and the etymological basis of its orthography, in favour of a philosophical completeness. Mr. Fleay, on the other hand, proposed a scheme, which was developed in two

forms, the one perfectly phonetic, for educational purposes; the other differing from this only in the dropping the use of the accent and of the one new type required in the former. Mr. Fleay showed that, even in the vowel sounds, not one-tenth would need alteration, while, in the case of the consonants, the alteration required would be much less.

To Mr. C. F. Keary we are indebted for the first portion of a Paper "On the genuine and the spurious in Eddaic Mythology," with especial reference to the theories, recently put forward by Prof. Sophus Bugge, of Christiania, respecting the origin of these myths. Premising that he did not intend any direct criticism of this Professor's views, the writer pointed out those features of the Eddaic mythology, which appeared to him to be of genuine and early Germanic origin, while he specially examined the myths of Death and of the other world, as preserved to us in the two Eddas. Thus, he laid especial emphasis on the belief concerning the burning of the Dead, a rite he considered to be rather Teutonic than Celtic; as, even among the Northern Germanic races, this rite was falling into disuse at the beginning of the Twelfth Century, so that its influence on the construction of the Eddaic myths must be

referred to an earlier date than that of Scemund. Mr. Keary then quoted from the Arab Travels of Ibn Haukal (tenth century), an account of the funeral rites of a Gothic people, at that period inhabiting the North of Russia, and compared this with the narratives of the funeral of Baldar.

Professor Abel gave to the Society a Paper "On the diversity of National Thought as reflected by Language," in which he endeavoured to show that, with the exception of forms denoting material objects, or expressing the most ordinary sensations, the words of all languages are really different in meaning from their reputed representatives in other tongues. As nations, he remarked, differ in their notions, the signs expressive of these notions, *i.e.*, the words, could not but differ in the senses they conveyed. By a comparison between French, German, and English, Dr. Abel showed that there was a considerable diversity between words seemingly identical in meaning. Such words, often, only partially correspond with each other, the one having either some additional meaning not found in the other, or the various ingredients of their meanings being combined in different proportions even when otherwise identical. Then, again, there were terms found in

some languages, but not occurring in others, in which cases, to make up for the deficiency, it was necessary to use paraphrase.

Dr. Abel then pointed out, that only thoughts common to the whole nation or to large sections of the nation, are embodied in single words, and hence drew the conclusion that the finer shades of national character are most effectually ascertained by a comparison of synonyms.

Captain R. F. Burton has contributed a Paper "On the Ethnology of Modern Midian," which was divided into two parts. 1. Notices of the tribes of Midian; and 2. The manners and customs of the Midianite Bedawin. In the first portion, Captain Burton stated that the country itself, properly called North Midian, is the district extending from Fort El-Akkabah, at the head of the Gulf so named, to Fort El-Muwaglah, a district extending latitudinally about 108 miles, and comprising three distinct tribes of Bedawin, the Humaytat, Maknâwi, and the Beni-Ukbah. In his second part, he traced the present social history of these people, and gave an interesting history of these wild men, who

have, perhaps, changed less, in the last 3,000 years, than any other known population.

To Mr. Robert N. Cust we are indebted for a lively account which he gave, partly orally, of "Spain, its Cities and Customs," in which he described the Cathedrals, the Civil Guard and Brigands, the Bull-Fight, Hotels, Railroads, &c., and the demeanour of the people towards strangers, which, so far as he had the opportunity of mingling with them, appeared to be universally kind, courteous, and hospitable. Travellers had no trouble with the Police or about Passports. Mr. Cust called attention to the so-called "restorations" going on at the Al-Hamra in Grenada, which, he thought, were being carried too far. On the other hand, he considered that the restorations in the great Mosque Cathedral at Cordova, and in the Jewish Synagogues at Toledo were judiciously executed. Mr. Cust then described the route viâ Badajoz to Lisbon, where he had the good luck to arrive in time for an Earthquake. Generally, his experience was that Spain was a country well worthy of a single visit; and that, as spacious arenas had been built in every town of Spain, there was not the slightest hope that the peculiar institution of the Bull-Fight would ever be suppressed.

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